XL. No. 160 December 1951

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Irish Quarterly Review

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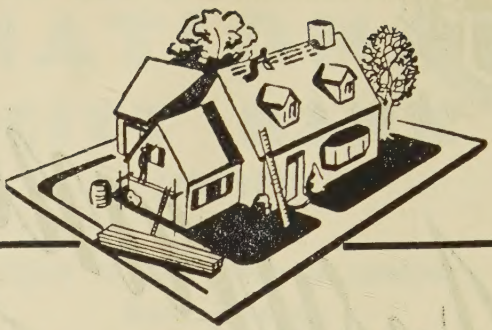

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EDITOR

RISH CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

BY VINCENT GROGAN, M.A.
Barrister-at-Law

HE end of the War of Independence and the establishment, under the Treaty of 1921, of the Irish Free State mark the beginning of w phase of Irish history. The subsequent thirty years reveal three es of constitutional growth, corresponding to the periods of government hose who accepted the Treaty, of those who opposed it, and of those succeeded to office when the Treaty had ceased to be relevant.

I

A Truce between the Irish and British Forces was declared on 11th , 1921. Prolonged correspondence followed between Mr. Lloyd rge, the British Prime Minister, and Mr. de Valera, President of Eireann, on proposals for a settlement between the two countries. negotiations ended with the assembly of a Peace Conference in don at which Ireland was represented by delegates appointed by the ident, on the authority of Dáil Eireann, as " envoys plenipotentiaries

from the Government of the Republic of Ireland," constituted by the Declaration of Independence of 21st January, 1919.

On 6th December, 1921, an instrument entitled "Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland " was signed by the two delegations.[1]

The Articles were approved by Dáil Eireann on 7th January, 1922, by a majority of 64 votes to 57. They were then approved in accordance with Article 18 " at a meeting summoned for the purpose "—by Arthur Griffith, chairman of the Irish delegation,—" of the members elected to sit in the House of Commons of Southern Ireland "[2]. The meeting was held in the Mansion House, Dublin, on 14th January, 1922.

This Assembly, which was attended only by those members of the Dáil who had approved the Articles of Agreement, together with the members of Parliament for Trinity College, appointed a Provisional Government, with Michael Collins as Chairman, in conformity with Article 17 " by way of provisional arrangement for the administration of Southern Ireland during the interval which must elapse between the date hereof and the constitution of a Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State in accordance therewith ".

On 16th January, 1922, the provisional Government made its first proclamation, announcing that it had undertaken the functions given to it by the Articles of Agreement, and directing all Law Courts, local authorities, Departments of State and other civil functionaries previously acting under the authority of the British Government to continue to carry out their functions until otherwise ordered.

On 31st March, 1922, the United Kingdom Parliament passed the Irish Free State (Agreement) Act, 1922, which gave the force of law to the Treaty, as it is commonly called. Section 1(2) of that Act provided that, for the purpose of giving effect to Article 17 of the Agreement, Orders in Council might be made transferring to the Provisional Government the powers and machinery requisite for the discharge of its duties. Article 17 itself required every member of the Provisional Government to have previously signified in writing his acceptance of the Treaty.

An Order in Council, the Provisional Government (Transfer of Functions) Order, 1922, was accordingly made, providing for the transfer of those functions on a date to be agreed between the British Government and the Provisional Government. On 1st April 1922, an Agreement

[1] The Dáil delegation is described in the Instrument as " the Irish Delegation ". The status of its members as plenipotentiaries of the Irish Republic is not acknowledged in the Instrument.

[2] Pursuant to the Government of Ireland Act, 1920. These elections, together with elections to the Parliament of Northern Ireland, had been availed of by Dáil Eireann as elections to itself.

d by Winston S. Churchill and Michael Collins named that date as date of transfer for all but a few functions, important exceptions g the Irish Land Commission, the Registry of Deeds and the Post e and Trustee Savings Banks.

On the same date, the provisional Government published notices con-ting Ministries[1] and appointing Ministers[2].

The first of these instruments purports to be made " by virtue of powers conferred on the Irish Provisional Government by the provisions ne Treaty made between Ireland and Great Britain and signed in don on the 6th day of December, 1921, by the Irish Plenipotentiaries the British Plenipotentiaries respectively, and duly approved by Dáil ann on the 7th day of January, 1922 ".

t will be noted that although the Provisional Government admittedly ved its powers from the Treaty, it treats the approval of Dáil Eireann ne effective approval, whereas it was the approval of the members ed to the Parliament of Southern Ireland which the Treaty itself ired. While it was through the latter approval that the Government ved its legal authority, it was on the acceptance of the Treaty by majority of the chosen representatives of the Irish people in Dáil ann that the Government based its moral claim to their loyalty.

As a matter of law it is clear that the powers of the Provisional Govern-t derived from the British Statute. This was, indeed, expressly ad-ed in a Proclamation of that Government on 27th May, 1922, providing he holding of an election and the constitution of a Parliament pursuant ne provisions of that Act. On the same day, Viscount FitzAlan, tenant General and General Governor of Ireland, acting on the ce of the Provisional Government, directed the issue of writs for the ion and formally called a Parliament (to be known as the Provisional ament) to which the Provisional Government was to be responsible. as this House of Parliament (described in official publications, but n Government Proclamations, as Dáil Eireann) which on 25th October, , passed the Constitution of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) 1922, to which was scheduled the Constitution of the Irish Free .[3]

n the Preamble, the Act is stated to be enacted by " Dáil Eireann ng as a Constituent Assembly in this Provisional Parliament ". Again same dualism may be noted.

Irish Provisional Government, Public Notice No. 6.

Public Notice, No. 9.

cf. Proclamation of Timothy Healy, Governor General of the Irish Free State, 9th nber, 1922, convening Seanad Eireann. On 22nd May, 1922, the Second Dáil Eireann d a resolution providing for the election of the Third Dáil Eireann (the " Pact Elec-") but this authority was not invoked in convening the Provisional Parliament. Dáil Debates, 1922, Vol. 1, cols. 1–5, 8–14.

On 5th December, 1922, the United Kingdom Parliament enacted " an Act to provide for the Constitution of the Irish Free State ".[1] This Act set out the entire Irish Constituent Act and declared that the Constitution scheduled thereto should be the Constitution of the Irish Free State.

Much has been written about the legal origin of the Constitution of Saorstát Eireann. The official British interpretation always has been that it derived from the United Kingdom statute.[2] Irish constitutional theory assumed that it derived from the Act of the Third Dáil Eireann[3] sitting as a Constituent Assembly,[4] the implication of the Preamble to the Constituent Act being that the Constituent Assembly acted by inherent right as the Assembly on which all lawful legislative authority, coming from God to the people, devolved.

The Treaty was in truth the fundamental law of Saorstát Eireann. The Constituent Act (Section 2) or the British Statute, according to one's point of view, gave it the force of law, declared void any provision of the Constitution insofar as contrary to it and required the Parliament and Executive Council of the Irish Free State to pass such legislation and do such other things as might be necessary to implement the Treaty. There was, in fact, no necessity under the Treaty to enact a written Constitution at all, and, looking back on the subsequent constitutional history of the State, it is an interesting subject for speculation whether the existence of a written Constitution aided or hindered its development.

Article 1 of the Treaty conferred on Ireland the same constitutional status in the British Commonwealth as the other Dominions. The British statute confirming the Constitution asserted the formal subordination of the Irish Free State Parliament (Oireachtas) to the United Kingdom Parliament,[5] reserving the right of that Parliament to make laws for the new Dominion in any case where, in accordance with constitutional practice, Parliament would make laws affecting other self-governing Dominions. Constitutional practice at that time confined the exercise of the power to nationality and merchant shipping law, or where the Dominion itself requested its exercise.

The Constitution recognized other marks of subordination: firstly, the executive authority of the State was vested in the King and was exercisable, in accordance with the law and usage governing its exercise in

[1] The Irish Free State Constitution Act, 1922 (Session 2).

[2] *Moore v. Attorney General for I.F.S.* [1935] A.C., Privy Council, 484.

[3] As to terms " First Dáil Eireann ", " Second Dáil Eireann ", " Third Dáil Eireann " see Interpretation Act, 1923 (No. 46 of 1923), s.2.

[4] *cf. The State (Ryan and Others) v. Lennon*, [1935] I.R. per Kennedy C.J. at p. 263.

[5] I.F.S. Constitution Act, 1922 (Sess. 2), s.4.

Dominion of Canada, by the Representative of the Crown;[1] secondly, King was made a constituent element of the Oireachtas;[2] thirdly, bers of the Oireachtas were required to take an oath in which, having ed their " allegiance " to the Constitution they swore " to be faithful M. King George V., his heirs and successors by law in virtue of ommon citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence d membership of " the commonwealth;[3] fourthly, an appeal lay to Privy Council from decisions of the Supreme Court;[4] finally, the esentative of the Crown might withhold the King's assent to a Bill d by both Houses of the Oireachtas or reserve the Bill for the assent King in Council (that is to say, the British Cabinet).[5] The formidable cations of this power were considerably reduced by the proviso that epresentative of the Crown should act according to the law, practice constitutional usage of Canada, where the right of reservation had een exercised since 1886. Nevertheless, the elaboration of detail in rticle indicated that it was not regarded as obsolete.

urther limitations of sovereignty implicit in Dominion status at that were that a Dominion had no power to make laws having extra-orial effect,[6] and that, under section 2 of the Colonial Laws Validity 1865, any colonial law repugnant to any Act of the British Parliament ding to the Colony was void.[7]

he Treaty applied to the whole of Ireland. It recognized, however, xistence of Northern Ireland, already established by the Government eland Act, 1920, and provided that that area might opt out of the Dominion by an address presented to the King by both of its Houses rliament within the month after the ratification of the Treaty by the h Parliament.[8] In the meantime, the powers of the Irish Free State ment and Government were not to be exercisable in that area.

he Act of 1920 " with a view to the eventual establishment of a ment for the whole of Ireland, and to bring about harmonious action een " the parliaments of its two parts provided for a Council of nd consisting of an equal number of the members of each Parliament. Council, the only formal bond between the two areas, was abandoned ut a trial in 1925, by agreement between the British Government he governments of the two areas.[9] The same Act[10] had provided for

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[1] Art. 51. [2] Art. 12. [3] Art. 17. [4] Art. 66.
Art. 41.
See Art. 3: " within the limits of the jurisdiction ", and Art. 12: " peace, order ood government ".
This Act, when passed, actually extended the powers of colonial legislatures. However, minion status became a fact it began to have an increasingly restrictive effect. See , *Kingdoms in Partnership*, p. 60.
Art. 12. The ratifying Act for this purpose was the I.F.S. Constitution Act, 1922 2), (see s.5) not the previous I.F.S. Agreement Act, 1922 (See s.1(5)). An address resented by the N. I. Parliament on 7th December, 1922.
Ratified by Treaty (Confirmation of Amending Agreement) Act, 1925 (No. 40). S. 3.

the establishment of an all-Ireland Parliament, in lieu of the Council by identical Acts (referred to as " Constituent Acts ") agreed to by an absolute majority of the members of the Houses of Commons of Southern Ireland and Northern Ireland, and for a Court of Appeal for Ireland. The latter provisions were terminated by the British Statute entitled the Irish Free State (Consequential Provisions) Act, 1922 (Section 2).

Article 12 of the Treaty provided, in the event of Northern Ireland opting out of the Dominion, for the determination of the boundary between Northern Ireland and the rest of Ireland " in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants, so far as may be compatible with economic and geographic conditions ": an unhappy choice of words, since they failed to indicate what *inhabitants* were to be consulted or how their wishes were to be ascertained.

The Boundary Commission was to consist of one member appointed by each of the Irish Governments, with a chairman appointed by the British Government. The Northern Government, however, refused to appoint a member. The other Governments thereupon agreed[1] that the third member should be appointed by the British Government.

The Commission was not set up until November, 1924. It consisted of Mr. Justice Feetham (Chairman), and Mr. J. R. Fisher, the British nominees, and Professor MacNeill, Minister for Education, the Irish nominee. Its proceedings were fruitless. On the eve of the issue of its award, after protracted investigations, Dr. MacNeill resigned both his membership of the Commission and his Ministry.[2]

It then appeared that, from an early stage, there had been a fundamental difference of interpretation between him and the other members of the terms of Article 12. The British members would not countenance any solution which, whatever the views of its inhabitants, would result in the transfer to the Irish Free State of any large section of Northern Ireland territory.

The three Governments thereupon signed a further supplementary agreement, confirming the existing boundary. The Irish Free State was released from its liability under Article 5 of the Treaty for any part of the British Public Debt, but undertook liabilities for malicious damage done in the twenty-six counties since 21st January, 1919, and agreed to increase by ten per cent the measure of compensation for damage done between 11th July, 1921 (the date of the truce) and 12th May, 1923 (the end of the civil war). It was by this agreement that the Council of Ireland was abandoned.[3]

[1] Ratified by Treaty (Confirmation of Supplemental Agreement) Act, 1924 (No. 51 of 1924).

[2] See Dáil Debates, 24th November, 1925, Vol. 13, cols. 795 *et seq.* for an account of the circumstances.

[3] Ratified by Treaty (Confirmation of Amending Agreement) Act, 1925.

Although the Irish Free State acquired by the Treaty the same constitutional status as the other Dominions, there was a vital difference between them: whereas the other Dominions had acquired their position by the enlargement of their powers as self-governing colonies, and by a gradual process of devolution, the new member had had Dominion status forced upon it, in diminution of its self-asserted status of Republic. Dáil Éireann had pitched its claims too high to permit of conventional acceptance of such a position. The agony of decision, which provoked a civil war, lay behind the whole subsequent constitutional history of the State.

Saorstát Eireann, as a "fully self-governing State"[1] was admitted to membership of the League of Nations in September, 1923. The other Dominions had been members since 1920. In November, 1924, despite protest by the British Government, the Executive Council registered the Treaty under the League Covenant as an international document. The substance of the protest was that the Covenant was not intended to govern the relations between members of the Commonwealth; in other words, that, as the members were subject to a common sovereignty, such relations were not international relations.[2] The dispute was not then resolved, since the Secretary-General had no power to refuse registration, but events rapidly outdated the British point of view.

On 7th October, 1924, Professor T. A. Smiddy was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of America.[3] This was the first appointment by the King, acting on the advice of a Dominion Government, of an accredited representative to another Head of State. Owing, apparently, to difficulties with the British Government as to the terms on which he should act, he did not present his credentials until March, 1927. Shortly before that (December, 1926) Mr. Massey had been appointed Canadian Minister to Washington and presented his credentials on 18th February, 1927. The Irish Government had, however, blazed the trail.

The appointment of diplomatic representatives was foreshadowed by the Imperial Conference, 1923, which recognised the treaty-making power of the Dominions and drew up standard procedure for the purpose.

The next Imperial Conference, held in London, 1926, swept away many of the limitations on Dominion status.

A definition of status was agreed upon, as follows:

"They are autonomous Communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations".

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[1] See League of Nations (Guarantee) Act, 1923 (No. 41).
[2] See Mansergh, *Irish Free State, Its Government and Politics*, p. 271 *et seq.*
[3] *Iris Oifigiúil*, 17th October, 1924.

The Conference declared that the position of the Governor General in the Dominion Constitutions was to be precisely the same as that of the King in the British constitution. He was no longer to be the representative of the British Government : in future, the latter would be represented by High Commissioners. The right of the British Cabinet to advise the King to disallow Dominion legislation was declared at an end.

A further conference was held in 1930, the decisions of which formed the basis of the Statute of Westminster, 1931, enacted by the British Parliament at the request of all the Dominions. This statute formally defined for the first time the relations between the United Kingdom and the Dominions. While the sovereignty of the British Parliament was not declared at an end, the effect was to confer unlimited legislative power upon the Irish Free State and upon such of the other Dominions as desired to take advantage of it.[1]

The Colonial Laws Validity Act, 1865, was repealed in relation to the Dominions : thereafter no law of a Dominion would be void for repugnancy to a British statute[2]. The Dominion Parliaments were declared to have full power to make laws having extra-territorial effect.[3] No British Act, thereafter passed, would extend to a Dominion unless the Dominion had requested and assented to its enactment.[4]

The Preamble to the statute recited that " inasmuch as the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as they are united by a common allegiance to the Crown ", any change in the law touching the succession to the Crown or the Royal style and titles would require the assent of all the members.

The right of the Governor General to reserve a Bill for His Majesty in Council was not expressly dealt with, but it had been agreed at an interim Conference in 1929 that this right might be abolished by any Dominion, and section 2 of the statute impliedly gave power to its Parliament to do so.

Thus ended the first stage of constitutional development. The result was summed up by Mr. P. McGilligan, Minister for External Affairs, in his report to the Dáil on the result of the Dominion Conference of 1930 : " The [*Colonial*] system which it took centuries to build up has been brought to an end by four years of assiduous concentrated collaboration between the lawyers and the statesmen of the States of the Commonwealth . . . . the beginnings of this task were made at the Conference of 1926 at the instance of the late Vice-President of the Irish Free State

[1] Certain reservations were made in relation to Canada, Australia and New Zealand at their own request. See ss. 7–10.

[2] s. 2. [3] s. 3. [4] s. 4.

n O'Higgins] and his colleagues at that Conference "[1] " We had one ose in 1926, and that was that there must be uprooted from the e system of this State the British Government ; and in substitution at there was accepted the British Monarch. He is a King who func- entirely, so far as Irish affairs are concerned, at the will of the Irish rnment, and that was the summing up of the whole aim and the e result of the conferences of 1926, 1929 and 1930 : that one had t compietely rid of any power, either actual or feared, that the British rnment had in relation to this country. In substitution for that r the Treaty there was accepted the monarchy, as I say, a monarchy ery respect in relation to Irish affairs, subject to the control of an Government."[2]

here remained in the Constitution the monarchical symbols and the formal marks of subordination, of which the principal was the iding authority of the Treaty. Accepting, however, the British theory the Constituent Act was an enactment of the British Parliament, Parliament had now given the Irish Free State the right to remove Treaty from the Constitution and to abolish the other limitations on eignty. On the theory consistently advanced by the Free State rnment, however, the Treaty was an international agreement and l only be altered by consent of both parties, and the Constituent which gave it overriding authority, could not be altered at all, save onvoking another Constituent Assembly or by a national plebiscite. as a strange dénouement.

II

he next stage began with the succession of Mr. de Valera's Govern- to that of Mr. Cosgrave. The new Government denied the validity e Treaty and the efficacy of constitutional development by inter- monwealth collaboration. Its chosen task was the elimination of the ty from the internal law of the State and the removal of monarchical ols from the Constitution, on the ground, as Mr. de Valera stated, " The British Crown is not a symbol of free association of our nation the British. It is a symbol of a forced association ".[3]

he Constitution (Removal of Oath) Act, 1933, was the first of the series of measures for that purpose. Section 2 of the Constituent was repealed, thus depriving the Treaty of the force of law, and, by cation, denying the previous theory as to the unique status of the tituent Assembly. Article 17 of the Constitution, which prescribed

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[1] Dáil Debates, 16th July, 1931, Vol. 39, col. 2291.
[2] *Ibid.* col. 2307.
[3] Dáil Debates, 17th July, 1931, Vol. 39, col. 2348.

the oath, and Article 50, which required amendments to be within the terms of the Treaty, were also repealed.

The British Government sent a note protesting that the measure was contrary to the terms of the Treaty—surely an illogical argument, since the Treaty could not be a binding international agreement and at the same time a document having the force of law by virtue of a British statute. It had already denied its international character in its protest to the League of Nations, and had committed itself to the other view by the terms of its own legislation. The Irish Government gave the obvious reply that, apart from its inherent right to do so, it was acting within the powers granted to it by the British Parliament itself when it passed the Statute of Westminster. Incidentally the British note was a recognition of the Republic of 1919, which it had avoided giving at the time, since an international agreement could, *ex hypothesi*, only be made between independent States.

In November, 1933, three further amending Bills were passed. The first[1] deprived the Governor General of his function of addressing messages to the Dáil on the advice of the Executive Council as a condition precedent to appropriations of money. The second[2] abolished his right to reserve Bills for the King's pleasure. The third[3] abolished the right of appeal to the Privy Council.

The Privy Council upheld this amendment on the ground that the Statute of Westminster had given power to the Oireachtas to pass laws repugnant to British statutes and to abrogate the Treaty.[4]

The Governor General remained as a constituent part of the Oireachtas with the sole function of " signifying the King's assent " to legislation, an empty formality since there was no power to withhold it. The King remained the Executive Head of the State and the Oireachtas was summoned and dissolved by the Governor General in his name.[5]

The next steps were the passage of the Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act, 1935, and the Aliens Act, 1935. Article 3 of the Constitution provided only for a local citizenship, the privileges and obligations of which only applied " within the limits of the jurisdiction of the Irish Free State " Abroad, Irish citizens were British subjects having distinctive passports showing their local domicil. The introduction of the Citizenship Act of

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[1] Amendment No. 20 (Act No. 40 of 1933), amending Art. 37.

[2] Amdt. No. 21 (Act No. 44 of 1933), amending Art. 41.

[3] Amdt. No. 22 (Act No. 45 of 1933), amending Art. 66.

[4] *Moore v. Attorney General for I.F.S.* [1935] A.C., 484. The Attorney General was not represented at the proceedings.

[5] Art. 24.

was therefore preceded by a constitutional amendment[1], deleting
the Constitution the words of limitation. The Citizenship Act
ied citizenship for all purposes, municipal and international. All
ons who were not citizens were classified as aliens, whether they
British subjects or not. The Aliens Act imposed various disabilities
restrictions upon aliens but provided (by section 10) for exemption
ie subjects of another country from its provisions. Under this section
plete exemption from the provisions of the Act was granted to nationals
he United Kingdom, the Dominions, Newfoundland and India.[2]

The United Kingdom, for its part, declined to recognise the citizenship
erred by the Act of 1935 as exclusive and universal. Irish citizens
lent there were regarded, as before, as British subjects. This outlook
its serious practical consequences was brought to an issue when
ain went to war in 1939 and Ireland maintained neutrality.

No further change affecting inter-Commonwealth relations occurred
the abdication of King Edward VIII on 10th December, 1936.
agreement recited in the Preamble to the Statute of Westminster
assumed practical importance. If Saorstát Eireann was to remain
sociation with the other members of the Commonwealth it was essential
the Oireachtas, in common with the Parliaments of the other members,
ld provide for the succession to the throne. The Irish Government
advantage of the occasion to remove all reference to the King from
Constitution and to abolish the office of Governor General.[3]

The Executive Authority (External Relations) Act, 1936, passed on the
e day (11th December, 1936) performed two functions: firstly, it
ed the Executive Authority (so far as concerned the appointment of
omatic and consular representatives and the treaty-making power) in
Executive Council and provided for its exercise in certain circumstances
he King; secondly, it accepted the abdication of King Edward VIII
provided that his successor for the purpose of the exercise of that
ority " and all other (if any) purposes " should be the person who,
ie abdicating monarch had died unmarried on the 10th December,
(the date of the abdication instrument) would for the time being
is successor " under the law of Saorstát Eireann ".

As to the exercise of the executive powers referred to, section 3 (1)
ided: " so long as Saorstát Eireann is associated with the following
ons, that is to say, Australia, Canada, Great Britain, New Zealand and
h Africa, and so long as the king recognised by those nations as the
bol of their co-operation[4] continues to act on behalf of each of those

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[1] Amdt. No. 26 (Act No. 12 of 1935).
[2] Aliens (Exemption) Order, 1935 (S.R. & O., No. 80 of 1935).
[3] Amdt. No. 27 (Act No. 57 of 1936).
[4] "Association" would have been more apt.

nations (on the advice of the several Governments thereof) for the purposes of the appointment of diplomatic and consular representatives and the conclusion of international agreements, the king so recognised may, and is hereby authorised to, act on behalf of Saorstát Eireann for the like purposes as and when advised by the Executive Council so to do".

The king had ceased to be the constitutional monarch of the State: he had become the hereditary symbol of co-operation (or association) with other nations who were members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. He was still the constitutional monarch of the other nations (which by this time had become so many kingdoms in a personal union) but not of this nation. Our citizens owed him no allegiance. The Saorstát Constitution had become a palimpsest and that which now appeared was very close to the Declaration of Independence of 1919. It was clearly time for a new Constitution.

The Constitution of 1937 was enacted by the people, having passed Dáil Eireann[1] as a proposal to be put before them. By thus appealing to the human source of political authority the quietus was given to argument as to the competence of the Oireachtas or the nature of the new document. The people gave to themselves not merely a new Constitution but a new "sovereign, independent, democratic State"[2], the name of which, in the English language, is Ireland. The Constitution is republican in form. The President and the judges swear to maintain it[3]. Fidelity to the nation and loyalty to the State are declared to be fundamental political duties of all citizens[4].

Association with the Commonwealth was provided for by Article 29, which stated that for the purpose of the exercise of any executive function of the State in connection with its external relations, the Government might avail of any organ, instrument or method of procedure used for that purpose by any group of nations with which the State was or might become associated. The Executive Authority (External Relations) Act, 1936, continued in force and Irish diplomatic representatives continued to be appointed by the king on the advice of the Government. The credentials of foreign diplomats were addressed to him.

The British Government issued a statement on 29th December, 1937, the date upon which the Constitution came into operation, in which they announced: "They are prepared to treat the new Constitution as not

[1] Seanad Eireann had been abolished on 29th May, 1936, by Amdt. No. 24 (Act No. 18 of 1936).

[2] Art. 5. [3] Arts. 12.8 and 34.5.

[4] Art. 9.

ting a fundamental alteration in the position of the Irish Free State, ıture to be described . . . . as Eire or Ireland, as a member of the sh Commonwealth of Nations ".

So ended the second stage of constitutional development.

III

The third stage was the enactment, under Mr. Costello's Government, ıe Republic of Ireland Act, 1948[1]. The Executive Authority (External tions) Act was repealed and the " description " of the State was ared to be " the Republic of Ireland ", which is to say, the State formally defined as a Republic. Its name, given to it by the Constitution, not altered. The exercise of the executive power in connection with rnal relations was transferred to the President, acting on the advice of Government. This measure was not an amendment of the Constitution ch could only be amended by Referendum) ; it was merely an enact- t of the legislature. The constitutional power (under Article 29) to l of any organ for purposes of external association remained but the l machinery for doing so was removed.

The Act was, however, intended to end the association of the State the British Commonwealth of Nations and was so accepted by the r members. The question had often been posed whether the framework ıe Commonwealth was broad enough to include a Republic. That stion was shortly afterwards answered in the affirmative for the Republic ndia.

The Saorstát had, in fact, ceased to be a member of the Commonwealth December, 1936, as a result of the measures adopted at the abdication. ad become an associated State. The British Nationality Act, 1948, ed by the British Parliament in July impliedly admitted this by drawing stinction between a " citizen of Eire " and " Commonwealth citizens ".

After the enactment of the Republic of Ireland Act, 1948, which came force on 18th April, 1949, the British Parliament enacted the Ireland 1949, declaring that from that date the State " ceased to be part of Majesty's dominions ". As we have seen, this event had occurred ve years before. British recognition of events thus followed its usual y course. The Republic of Ireland[2] was, nevertheless, not to be a gn country for the purposes of any British statute and its citizens

[1] See Dáil Debates, 1948, Vol. 113, cols. 347 to 455, 478 to 581, 593 to 723, for Second ing debate.

[2] S. 1(3) erroneously refers to " the Republic of Ireland " as the *name* of the State.

were not to be aliens.[1] The position of Irish citizens under the British Nationality Act therefore remained unaltered.[2] The Ireland Act gratuitously adds[3] that Northern Ireland remains a part of His Majesty's Dominions and will not cease to be such without the consent of its own Parliament.

Acts similar to the British Nationality Act were passed in 1948, 1949 and 1950 by New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, Canada and Southern Rhodesia. Irish citizens resident in any of those countries have the same rights and duties as its own citizens. In return, orders have been made by the Irish Government[4] declaring that, subject to law, citizens of the United Kingdom and of the countries mentioned shall enjoy in Ireland the same rights as those enjoyed by Irish citizens in those countries by virtue of their citizenship laws. This does not confer a right reserved by the Constitution to Irish citizens, for example, the right to vote (Article 16), or any right reserved by law to any special class of citizens or nationals, as under the Control of Manufactures Acts, 1932 and 1934.

Thus ends the third stage of constitutional development. The Constitution declares that the national territory consists of the whole island of Ireland, its islands and the territorial seas. Pending the re-integration of the national territory and without prejudice to the right of Parliament and Government to exercise jurisdiction over the whole of the territory, its laws apply only to twenty-six of its counties.[5] The final stage is yet to come.

VINCENT GROGAN

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[1] Ss. 2, 3.

[2] S. 2 of the British Nationality Act, 1948, provides that Irish citizens may opt to *remain* (*sic*) British subjects if they have connections or associations with the United Kingdom.

[3] S. 1(2).

[4] Under s. 23 of the Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act, 1935. The orders are: S.I. No. 1 of 1949 (U.K. and Colonies), S.I. No. 2 of 1949 (New Zealand), S.I. No. 18 of 1949 (Australia), S.I. No. 198 of 1950 (South Africa), S.I. No. 11 of 1951 (Sth. Rhodesia), S.I. No. 89 of 1951 (Canada).

[5] Arts. 2, 3.

IRISH ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT SINCE THE TREATY*

BY R. C. GEARY, D.SC.

E HAVE few natural resources in Ireland, except an equable climate and fairly fertile grasslands. Before the industrial drive of the last quarntury started, there were a few large industries such as brewing, bacon-g, creameries, biscuit-making and woollens and worsteds, most of based on native materials but few of them with a high labour content. nain assets for industrial development are plentiful supplies of labour apital, though these have exhibited such an astonishing centrifugal ncy that the number of Irish-born adults living outside Ireland is s many again as the number of Irish-born adults living in Ireland, se of emigration, and Irish capital invested abroad per head of ation (about £150 in 1947[1]) is probably larger than for any other ry in the world.

uring the period of Grattan's Parliament, recourse was had to the of protection under which certain industries prospered up to the f Union in 1800. After that date a milder system of protection iled for some time, but later the Irish fiscal system was merged in ritish system of Free Trade. As a result, industry, except in Ulster, lmost wiped out of existence, and agriculture languished. England's conomic interests proved the undoing of the South. For our present of view it is important to note that in the century of political agitation culminated in national independence in 1921, great emphasis had placed on this conflict between British and Irish economic interests, he claim for self-government was based largely on the country's to economic development in general and to development in industry rticular. The Famine of 1846-47, relatively one of the greatest ers which afflicted any people during the past two hundred years,

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ecture delivered to the Summer School, University College, Dublin, on 14th 1951.

erived from " Ireland's External Assets " by T. K. Whitaker, Statistical and Inquiry Society of Ireland, April 1949.

was seen as a natural consequence of poverty resulting from lack of industry and too great pressure of population on the land and, while political analysis tends towards over-simplification, there is probably little wrong with this conclusion. The mass exodus following the Famine has implanted in the minds of the Irish people the conviction that emigration is an unqualified evil, and almost every nationalist in the hundred years before 1921 believed that the main object of self-government was the development of native industry and the intensification of agriculture, both of which would increase the national wealth (or, as we would say these days, the national income) and diminish, if not stop, emigration.

Emigration

We are only now beginning to realize the extent to which emigration has affected and continues to affect the whole social and economic fabric of the country and this is why I propose dealing with this aspect of my subject at some little length. Its implications go far beyond the magnitude of emigration and the fact that emigration is the sole reason of the failure of the population to increase. Of no country in the world is it more true to say that the political and economic boundaries do not coincide, though this is true in varying degree of all countries. The Irish have always been a great migratory people. In the seventy years before the great Famine of 1846-47, $1\frac{3}{4}$ million people left the country.[2] Between 1841 and the present day the population of all Ireland has fallen from $8\frac{1}{4}$ million to $4\frac{1}{4}$ million, though it has remained fairly constant at the latter figure for nearly half a century. During the past hundred years net emigration from all Ireland amounted to almost 5 million, of which approximately 4 million were from the Twenty-six Counties. From the latter area net emigration in the past quarter century reached nearly half a million. In the ten years following the Famine, emigration reached the dimensions of a national exodus, and has continued down to our own day at a rate which, while tending to diminish, is still very large. Ireland has a normal birth rate and a normal death rate. The natural increase (or the excess of births over deaths) is substantial, but it is skimmed off regularly by emigration so that there has been no significant change in population during the past half century, apart from a relatively small decline attributable directly or indirectly to migration resulting from the change in political status in 1921. It is extremely significant that, despite marked

[2] F. H. Connell: "The Population of Ireland 1750–1845", p. 27.

es in the intercensal natural increase, the latter always closely coin-
with net emigration since 1926. Is emigration inevitable in the
that a large proportion of those born here are pre-destined to emig-
hat they owe their existence to the fact of emigration? If the recent
is any indication, the prospect of an appreciable increase in population
next thirty years, despite economic development at home, is remote.
nce the beginning of the century Ireland is the only country in the
in which the population has declined; while the population of
pe (excluding U.S.S.R.) increased by 36 per cent since 1900, the
ation of Ireland (Twenty-six Counties) *decreased* by 7 per cent.
contrast is even more striking over the longer period: since 1841
opulation of most European countries has doubled while the popula-
of Ireland has halved. As already remarked, the adult population
in Ireland but living outside is more than half the adult population
in Ireland, a fantastically high proportion which makes Ireland
ue amongst the nations. Based on the experience of the decade 1936-
ne latest intercensal period for which the calculation can be made,
y be stated that of every hundred males born in Ireland who survive
e age of 60, only 63 are living in Ireland at that age; the remaining
e living abroad. During the last five years the rate of net emigration
ne excess of emigration over immigration) was equivalent to 8 per
and population per annum, which is very close to the death rate in
European countries. In 1950, it has been officially estimated that
migration amounted to 41,000,[3] equivalent to nearly 14 per thousand
lation. Up to the world Economic Depression of 1929–30, emigration
Ireland was directed principally to the U.S.A.; large numbers also
to Great Britain and the British Dominions and Colonies. After
however, it was directed principally towards Great Britain though,
the War, there has been a revival of overseas migration: in fact
g the period 1946-51 about one-fifth of the total was directed
eas.

feature of Irish emigration has always been that it contained a high
ortion of women. During the five years period 1946-51 women
ded men in numbers in the migration stream by nearly 40 per cent.
ipally as a result of the high proportion of women amongst emigrants
to a lesser extent because the mortality of women in Ireland in
on to that of men is less favourable than in other countries), the
population contains the lowest number of women in Europe and
y the lowest in the world. It is a melancholy fact that Irish women
such a marked propensity to emigrate. Poor marriage prospects in
nd are one cause of this but they are not the sole cause. On the

Irish Trade Journal and Statistical Bulletin, June 1951, p. 84. This estimate must
arded as subject to a statistical error, in excess or in defect, of 5,500..

other hand the intention to emigrate obviously militates against a high marriage rate within Ireland. Other reasons which have been suggested for the low marriage rate are the prevalence of large families which imposes family responsibilities on the elder members. In rural Ireland the system of farm tenure is not conducive to a high marriage rate since one of the farmer's sons is in a position to marry only when he inherits the farm. It is not the practice in Ireland to divide farms, which in general are small. As shown in the Census Reports, marriage rates are also low by comparison with, say, Great Britain in comparable non-agricultural occupations.

The fact that emigration is now directed for by far the greater part to Great Britain means that there is less of a sundering of family ties than in previous periods when emigration was directed principally to the United States. In the past, very few returned of those who went and those who returned did so after a sojourn of many years abroad. Ireland is different in this respect from other emigrant countries, Italy, for example. We are not only the greatest emigrant country in relation to the size of the home population but we are also the most assimilable from the viewpoint of the countries of immigration. In the case of emigration to Great Britain, however, very large numbers now return on holidays and a considerable proportion of those who go come back after a year or two. In 1950 while 73,000 went to take up jobs in Great Britain, no fewer than 36,000 returned for more or less permanent residence in Ireland.[4]

It is a gross over-simplification to suggest that emigration is due solely, or even principally, to lack of economic development in Ireland. During the past five years when, as already observed, emigration was at a high level, the country was never so prosperous. On account of the high prices of agricultural products and the reduction in the agricultural population, the standard of living in agriculture was never so high as it has been during the past five years. This recent period of relative agricultural prosperity has been accompanied by the largest migration from farms ever experienced during any period of five years in the past half-century. In a stable population the numbers at work in industry have more than doubled during the past quarter of a century; the rate of unemployment is half what it was before the war; industrial earnings per head are in real terms 8 per cent higher than prewar; the wage rate (but not necessarily the rate of earnings) in Dublin is 10 per cent higher in purchasing power than in the principal British cities for a group of important comparable occupations; housing and social services generally are at a high level having regard to the national income; and still the people go.

[4] See preceding footnote. These figures are also subject to statistical errors of estimation.

he view is held by some authorities in Ireland, and it is supported
impressive weight of evidence, that emigration, even down to our
day, has resulted largely from the attractive power of great populations
sh emigrants in Great Britain and in the United States of America.
ne other hand, during the decades after the Famine, at some periods
and always perhaps from some parts of the country, economic con-
ns within the country forced large numbers of the people to leave.
mple terms the issue (which is of fundamental importance in the
ulation of policy) is whether emigration is " a pull or a push," and
jor difficulty in the controversy is the definition of these terms. What
yond question is that emigration has introduced a distortion, or what
ve termed above a centrifugal tendency, into the Irish economy, a
rtion which has militated against normal economic cohesion (in which
re " parts one of another "). It is difficult even to find words to
ibe the condition, still less to prove the thesis or to suggest a cure.
popular view is that each emigrant represents a loss to the State,
sented approximately by the cost of his or her upbringing, a view
h is more acceptable during these days of manpower shortage and
employment than at other times. To other people this view seems
nport into demography, in which it has no place, an idea which is
nissible even in economics. It would be quite another matter if
uld be proved, as commonly alleged on political platforms and widely
ved, that " the best are going ".

rnment Policy since 1922

n connection with the interpretation of the statistics presented later,
y be useful to indicate very briefly the main outlines of Government
omic policy during the period of self-government which began in
. Before doing so, however, it is essential to observe that Sinn Fein
aganda before the Treaty of 1921 had a strongly protectionist bias.
most frequently quoted dictum was Jonathan Swift's : " Burn every-
English except coal ", a principle which, however, would secure
opular support now, especially if we could get English coal at English
s. Before the first world war, there was a crusade for the use of
manufactures. Arthur Griffith propounded the doctrine that pro-
n was necessary for industrial revival and expansion. It is scarcely
xaggeration to say that except for businessmen, directly interested
e distribution of imported goods, and certain sections of the agricul-
community, popular sentiment in Ireland has always been protec-
t : there is no political cleavage on the issue.

Nevertheless, the first Irish Government made a cautious start in its
policy. Its first move, in June 1923, was to set up a Fiscal Inquiry
mittee with the following terms of reference :—

" To investigate and report—

(a) as to the effect of the existing fiscal system, and of any measures regulating or restricting imports or exports, on industry and agriculture in the Saorstát, and

(b) as to the effect of any changes therein intended to foster the development of industry and agriculture,

with due regard to the interests of the general community and to the economic relations of the Saorstát with other countries."

In its interim report the Committee recommended that the British Safeguarding of Industries Act, 1921, which was designed to protect certain industries in the United Kingdom from the effect of depreciation of foreign currency and importation of goods at prices below cost of production, should be repealed. The Committee in its report emphasized that " the extreme difficulty which will be experienced in any attempt to ascertain the precise facts relating to the existing conditions of Irish industries, as well as the difficulty of arriving at a definite conclusion as to the standard to be applied in ascertaining the needs of industry for assistance, suggest the necessity for extreme caution in the adoption of any policy that would produce far-reaching changes in the existing system upon which industry is conducted." One wonders if the Committee would have reported differently if it had the " precise facts " now available regularly from the Census of Industrial Production. The report gave a depressing picture of Irish industry at the time : industrial production was low and many plants were idle. It will be remembered that industrial production had then reached the lowest point of the post-1920 depression.

The Committee concluded that the volume of industry asking for protection was small. The malting, biscuit and jute industries were opposed to the application of protection and the Committee assumed that the brewing and distilling industry and industries connected with agriculture such as bacon-curing and butter-making did not desire protection as they absented themselves from the inquiry. It will be noted that all the industries mentioned were dependent largely on export trade rather than on the home market. Amongst the industries which pressed for protection were grain milling, confectionery, woollen piece goods, clothing, fellmongery, tanning, boots and shoes, cycle and agricultural machinery, manufacturers of galvanized hollow-ware, furniture makers, wood-workers, brush makers, paper manufacturers and printers, fertilisers, glass bottles, pottery etc. Generally it can be said that the firms making application were, with a few exceptions, small and struggling to preserve their existence from strong competition from imported goods. The Committee emphasized the disabilities under which Irish industries

ed, lack of native raw materials and coal, excessive transport charges, of a reserve of skilled labour, high level of wages and lack of capital omotion of Irish enterprise, lack of efficient and experienced manage- and marketing organizations which left much to be desired. Most us of all, perhaps, there was evidence of strong prejudice on the of the Irish public against at least certain classes of Irish products. position was summarised in the report as follows :—

" Irish industry in a weakened and depressed condition was exposed a competition so fierce as to dislocate the industrial life even of long- ablished and well-organised industries in the most highly-developed ustrial community in the world. The fierce struggle to hold or to velop markets would, in any case, have found Irish industry a poor npetitor ; but in the circumstances the struggle has been exception- and unnaturally severe."

should be remembered that, as stated by the President of the Execu- Council, " it is facts and not policy which the Committee is intended termine." In his Budget speech in 1924, the Minister for Finance that " the Government takes up no doctrinaire attitude on the ion of free trade and protection. It regards the matter as one of liency which may be variously decided in different circumstances." is Budget protective duties were imposed in an experimental way ve classes of goods : boots and shoes, soap and candles, sugar con- nery, cocoa preparations, table-waters, glass bottles for beer, wine pirits. In the Finance Act of 1925 three further categories of experi- al duties were instituted : personal clothing, blankets and rugs, ture. In 1926 an experimental duty was imposed on oatmeal.

he Tariff Commission Act of 1926 inaugurated the regime of selec- . The Act laid down the basis on which reports should be drawn nd this basis was entirely economic in character, relating strictly to nerits of each application, having regard in particular to the effect her industries of the imposition of protective duties. The Com- on dealt with applications from fifteen industries during the period to 1933. Of these fifteen applications, recommendations in favour otective duties were made in twelve cases. Adverse recommendations made in respect of flour, fish barrels and coach building. After 1932 Tariff Commission fell into disuse and only one case was dealt with 34. In 1934 the Tariff Commission Act was formally repealed.

1927 a duty was imposed on margarine. In 1929 a duty was imposed rtain classes of woollen piece goods and on down quilts. In the ce Act of 1929 the duty on clothing was increased. In 1931 duties imposed on butter, harness leather and harness, and on oats.

In November 1931 the Customs Duties (Provisional Imposition) Bill was introduced authorising the imposition or variation of custom duty by the Executive Council where such imposition or variation appeared to be necessary to prevent an expected dumping of goods or other threatened industrial injury, and further to authorise the reference to the Tariff Commission of questions relating to such duties. This Act represented an important step forward towards a protective policy as it enabled the Executive Council first to impose a duty and later to submit to the Tariff Commission the question of whether the duty should be continued, varied or terminated.

After the General Election of 1932 the Fianna Fáil Party came into power, pledged to a policy of protection with the stated object of relieving unemployment and developing the resources of the country. In the Government's first Finance Act in May, 1932, its definite policy of protection was expressed by the imposition of duties on a wide range of goods. The outbreak of the Economic War led to the passing of the Emergency Imposition of Duties Act, 1932. The first Order under the Act had the effect of imposing a penal duty on certain classes of goods coming from Great Britain, namely 5s. per ton on coal, 20 per cent on cement, electrical goods and apparatus and iron and steel goods, and of imposing certain additional duties on sugar and sugar preparations. Broadly speaking, the attitude of the Government was that any firm or group of firms or of individuals, prepared to establish a new industry or to extend an existing industry, could make application for the grant of duties necessary to give ample protection and so create conditions in which external competition was, to a large extent, eliminated. In 1934 a Control of Imports Bill was introduced which gave power for the quantitative regulation of imports by the introduction of a quota system. A wide range of goods were subject to quota orders, including tyres and tubes for motor-cars and motor cycles and bicycles, boots and shoes, sugar, rubber-proofed piece goods and garments ; motor-cars, chassis, bodies and shells, coal, silk and art silk, hose and half-hose, certain woollen piece goods, super-phosphates, soap, candles, raw onions, perambulators, pumps, cement, bulbs, marble chippings. Furthermore, under the Agricultural Production (Sales) Act, 1933 and the Agricultural Production (Regulation of Imports) Act, the importation of certain goods was prohibited except under licence and on which no duty is imposed. These goods include wheat, wheaten flour and meal, certain wheat products, maize and maize products, oats, hay, straw and a wide range of feeding stuffs, fish, live pigs and raw onions.

Based on the value of imports in 1924 of goods which were dutiable at any time during the period 1924-1938 (except goods bearing revenue duties) W. J. L. Ryan has computed that the tariff level on an *ad valorem*

was 9 per cent in 1931 and 35 per cent in 1938.[5] The aggregate of imports which were dutiable in 1931 was about one-half of the of imports which were dutiable in 1938.[6]

ral Population Aspects

The first Population Census, the first Census of Industrial Production the first estimates of agricultural output during the period of self-rnment were taken in 1926, nearly five years after the Treaty, and year is accordingly a convenient point of departure for a study of remarkable economic changes which have occurred during the last y years as revealed by statistics. The total population has remained e during this period in which the marriage rate in Ireland was the st in the world. The fertility of marriages, is, however, one of the est in the world with the result that the birth rate is about average nternational standards. Between 1926 and 1951 the proportion of the lation living in towns with over 1,500 population has increased from er cent to 41 per cent, the town population as defined increasing by er cent and the rural population decreasing by 12 per cent. The of urban increase and rural decline has been proceeding at an accel-d rate during the past five years : in fact the rate of change per cent annum was nearly twice as great as during the previous decade 1936-. One important effect of this change has been that the marriage rate .4 per 1,000 population per annum is perceptibly higher than before war, though it is lower than in the years 1942-46, when it was nearly 6. rely as a result of the increased number of marriages—the fertility has declined—the birth rate is now significantly higher than before war (19.4 in 1938 and 21.0 in 1950). In Ireland a quarter of the lation never marry, a proportion which is far higher than for any r country. In fact one exhausts superlatives in describing Ireland ographically. The international norm is the exception in Ireland re, as I have already said, the population halved in the past hundred s while the population of most countries doubled.

Table I shows the numbers at work in main industrial groups as rned at the Censuses of 1926, 1936 and 1946 with somewhat hazardous cipations of the figures which will be available in due course for the sus of 1951. It seems essential to give the statistics for 1951 since, ne table shows, the changes which have occurred during the past years are more striking than in any of the other two intercensal periods.

" Measurement of Tariff Levels for Ireland for 1931, 1936, 1938." Statistical and l Inquiry Society of Ireland, December, 1948.

To this point, the paper derives largely from "Industrial Development in Ireland : tistical Review " by the lecturer (Manchester Statistical Society, 1949), which, as ds the account of industrial policy since the Treaty, was based closely on the late Ferguson's article on " Industrial Policy and Organisation " in " Public Administra-n Ireland."

TABLE I

NUMBERS AT WORK

NOTE: The statistics for 1926, 1936 and 1946 are based on the Censuses of Population. The figures for 1951 are to be regarded as rough approximations based on incomplete data from many sources.

	PERSONS			
	1926	1936	1946	1951
	Numbers in Thousands			
Agriculture	646.5	609.2	571.5	500
Other Production	164.1	205.6	211.7	268
TOTAL PRODUCTION ...	810.6	814.8	783.2	768
Transport and Communication ...	38.9	38.4	43.1	47
Commerce and Finance ...	114.1	127.1	128.1	144
Public Administration and Defence	76.3	77.7	89.4	93
Professions	38.9	43.9	50.7	55
Personal Service	127.5	122.2	112.8	104
Other Industries	9.2	9.8	17.5	21
Industry not stated	4.7	1.6	2.9	
TOTAL ...	1,220.3	1,235.4	1,227.7	1,232
	Percentage Distribution			
Agriculture	53.0	49.3	46.6	40.6
Other Production	13.4	16.6	17.2	21.8
TOTAL PRODUCTION ...	66.4	66.0	63.8	62.4
Transport and Communication ...	3.2	3.1	3.5	3.8
Commerce and Finance ...	9.4	10.3	10.4	11.7
Public Administration and Defence	6.2	6.3	7.3	7.6
Professions	3.2	3.6	4.1	4.5
Personal Service	10.4	9.9	9.2	8.4
Other Industries	0.8	0.8	1.4	1.7
Industry not stated	0.4	0.1	0.3	
	100.–	100.–	100.–	100.–

here has been little change over the whole period in the population
rk. The numbers in productive employment have declined since
and the numbers in other employments increased, a tendency which
een observed in other countries and which is consistent with an
sing national income, giving employment to exotic personnel like
icians who might be regarded as parasitic in a more simple social
ization. The most remarkable feature of the table is undoubtedly
owing that since 1946 the number in agriculture declined by about
o or by 13 per cent while the number in Other Production increased
out the same number, but by 27 per cent. The proportion of the
ng population in agriculture has declined from 53 per cent to 41 per
n the quarter century and in a short period of five years by no less
6 per cent. Other Production has increased from the very low pro-
on of 13 per cent to nearly 22 per cent. The latter percentage is
ow by Western European standards and there is reasonable scope
evelopment up to about one-third of the working population. All
dications are, however, that the numbers in agriculture will decline
er, a tendency which the proposed considerable investment in agricul-
vill, if anything, intensify. Quantum output per head of Irish agriculture
compared with the most advanced agricultural communities even
rope and the decline in numbers may continue until the best European
ctivity is reached. Certainly in the Irish system of pasture husbandry
ased agricultural productivity is more likely to come about by decline
mbers at work than by increased output, though we must fervently
for the latter. The prevailing egalitarian tendency as between country
own and the proclivity of farmers' children to migrate will accentuate
ecline in numbers. By 1946 a highly interesting stage had been
ed in that the number of men "relatives assisting farmers" at
oo is considerably less than the number of men farmers which was
oo, and since 1946 there has been a substantial decline in the number
le farmers' relatives. Where is the next generation of farmers to
from unless amalgamation of farms occurs on a large scale? In
connection it may be observed that during the past twenty years
umber of small holdings (size 1-15 acres) in the country has decreased
104,000 to 89,000.

gures to be discussed later will show that the total *volume* of agricul-
output changed little during the past twenty-five years though,
on account of the favourable trend in prices in relation to living
the *real* income of the average agriculturist increased by about 70
nt since 1938 when, however, the average income in cash and kind
ry low. As Table I shows clearly the decline in numbers in agriculture
sumed the dimensions of an exodus and is continuing. The decline
ncipally amongst sons and daughters of farmers assisting in farm
: in 1946 only one-fifth of the agricultural labour force were paid

employees. Apparently farmers' children, with the development of trans port and communications in the widest sense of these terms, are no longe content with the social status, social amenities, poor marital prospects fo women, and meagre income in cash and kind which has heretofore bee theirs; they are bettering themselves from the economic point of view but from the viewpoint of happiness, contentment and health? Wh knows?

The most disappointing feature of the economic development of Irelan since the Treaty is the failure of agriculture to develop and the mas migration of the people from the lands of their fathers to Dublin and t cities in Great Britain and the United States which, by repute, are mor familiar to them than Dublin and other Irish cities, so ingrained is th tradition of emigration. Except for the scale of the rural exodus and th fact that it is directed outside the country, the same tale could be tol of many other countries. It is easy for the townsman to be censorio about the shortcomings of agriculture, easy but superficial, and we towns folk will all do well to remember a certain saying about a mote and beam in this connection. In a great paper[7] the late Thomas Barringto has shown that the Irish farmer over the long period is an Economi Man in his ruthless response to economic stimuli. From the 1860's t the present day the real income of the average agriculturist has more tha trebled as a result of a 25 per cent increase in the output of farms, th halving of the rural population, and, since World War II, by the favourabl trend in agricultural prices relative to retail prices. Over the shorter term no member of the community is more sensitive to price trends than th farmer. He possibly tends in the short term to think too much in terms of a fixed income so that if, in response to differential price trends, h develops one product, output of other products declines. It is difficu to prove the thesis that in agriculture as a whole there is an inverse relation ship between prices and volume of output but there is some evidence o it, though prices fluctuate prodigiously and volume is very steady. Sti it is pertinent to observe that during the period 1934-1938 the index o gross agricultural volume output was 104 when the ratio of agricultura prices to retail prices was 76, whereas in 1950 when the volume was 9 the price ratio was 141. In every country during the greater part of th past century depression was the normal condition of agriculture. It a devastating fact that only during times of war, hot and cold, does agricu ture flourish in the income sense. All this has bit deep into the consciousnes of the farmer. Before he commits himself to intensive developmen the farmer will be merely human if he asks himself what is going to happe to agricultural prices if the international situation eases. The answer i of course, that, despite every kind of international and national bolsterin

[7] " A Review of Irish Agricultural Prices " Statistical and Social inquiry Society Ireland, May 1926.

s must fall. It might appear that in such an eventuality the farmer have recourse to increased volume. My personal opinion is that iew is correct on the whole despite the fact that, as Barrington showed e case of Ireland, and has also been found in other countries in the the bounty of nature and the quantitative reward of his efforts can calamity for the agriculturist in inducing a fall in prices proportionately er than the increase in volume. The economist would put it that demand for agricultural products is inelastic. At the present time s probably much less true than in the past, as far as Ireland is con-ed, or than is likely to be the case in future because there is an elastic nd for the principal products of Irish agriculture, notably meat, products and eggs.

s Table IV shows later, in recent years gross volume of agriculture has r reached the 1938 level though the shortfall has not been large. This be accidental, yet it is not improbable that the substantial fall in power is now adversely affecting production. This is less a truism it might appear, as before the war there was a surplus of labour on s and mechanisation has increased since then. This is a serious ideration which will no doubt be examined by experts.

While farmers, like all of us, want to increase their income, in Ireland ntive appears to be lacking to increase incomes beyond a certain more ss fixed point. It is all to the good that since the war the farmer for irst time since 1920 has achieved a substantial cash income. It is well that farmers are now partly responsible for the great increase otor cars in use from 49,000 in 1938 to 85,000 in 1950. When the ers have had time to savour the sweets of income, the incentive to ease it may also develop, though time will be required to eradicate bitter experience of the past.

Believe it or not, but the statistician is constantly in the position of nding the world that it is not by statistics that man in society lives. life of the farmer is not idyllic but it has many compensations in satisfaction of possession of land, in health, in security, in being free direct taxation, in adequacy of food, in low rents and in other respects h add up to a reasonable standard of happiness. It was an American said that " money does not buy happiness " but, a member of his n, he added " it buys a damn good substitute ". A friend of mine, gricultural expert who went for a visit to a great country whose agricul-development is an example for the world to emulate, said that he d never want his fellow-countrymen to start their work at 4 a.m. sink exhausted on their beds at 9 p.m. And finally I am reminded story told me by a Senator from the west of Ireland who was in a

position to supply lobster pots to a friend of his who, as is frequently the case in the west, eked out a frugal living on the land by sea fishing. Some time afterwards, being in the neighbourhood, he called on his friend. The Senator found him sitting in front of his neat white-washed cottage, smoking, on a glorious summer day, a light Atlantic breeze blowing, at peace with all men. " Why aren't you out fishing, Michael ? " he said. " Well, Sir," said his friend, " I caught enough lobsters on Monday to do me for the week." Who is going to say that Michael was not behaving in a rational manner ? Why should he work if he was happy ?

National Income and Related Topics

The national economy can best be described by a set of financial accounts which show for the nation as a whole the kind of information which accountants prepare for individual business concerns. These accounts show in particular the national income classified according to main sources (agriculture, industry etc.), national expenditure, savings and capital formation. Table II shows the estimated national income in each of the last seven years and for the years 1926 and 1938 at values current in the years specified and in real terms, i.e. what the values would be if the prices ruling were the same all through, actually those of 1938. It will be seen that in the twelve years 1926 and 1938 the national income in real terms increased by 15 per cent and in the subsequent period also of twelve years by 24 per cent. Actually the latest substantial increase has been confined to the five years period 1945-1950 ; during the war years the real national income declined somewhat. It will be borne in mind that throughout the whole period covered by the table the total population was practically constant, so that the figures also reflect the trend in the average income per person. It will also be recalled that during the quarter century 1926-1950 a great change over from agriculture to non-agricultural employment occurred : since the average income per person in agriculture is lower than the average in non-agriculture, this population transfer must of itself be conducive to an increase in national income. Incidentally it may be pointed out that the discrepancy between the average earnings in agriculture and non-agricultural employments is now much less marked than before the war when agricultural earnings were at a low level. As already indicated, this improvement in the position has been brought about by the great rise in agricultural prices compared even with agricultural living costs, coupled with the decline by one-sixth of the agricultural working population.

TABLE II

IONAL INCOME AT CURRENT AND AT FIXED (1938) PRICES

	National Income at Current Prices	Price Index (1) (Base 1938 as 100)	Real National Income	
			At 1938 Prices	Index (1938 as 100)
	£m.		£m.	
(2)	147	107	137	87
	158.2	100	158.2	100
	253.8	170	149.3	94.4
	277.1	170	163.0	103.0
	289.8	168	172.5	109.0
	318.1	177	179.7	113.6
	334.1	183	182.6	115.4
	352.1	183	192.4	121.6
(3)	363	185	196	124

(1) Retail prices of goods and services.
(2) The 1926 Figures are based on estimates prepared by Professor G. A. Duncan F.T.C.D. (given in a paper read before the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland on 26th October, 1939, and in Appendix No. 7 of the Commission of Inquiry into Banking, Currency and Credit) modified in certain respects to bring the concepts involved into conformity with those adopted in later years for the official figures.
(3) Provisional.

TABLE III

ATIONAL INCOME CLASSIFIED BY SECTOR OF OUTPUT

	Agriculture and Fishing	Public Administration & Defence	Industry	Distribution and Transport	Other services	Income from Abroad	Total
	£ million						
	38.2	11.6		96.4		12.0	158.2
	85.8	21.2	40.4	41.6	43.5	21.3	253.8
	93.7	23.4	44.1	49.7	45.0	21.2	277.1
	91.1	21.5	51.9	57.7	46.0	21.6	289.8
	95.2	22.4	62.6	64.2	50.5	23.2	318.1
	97.8	24.2	70.8	65.7	53.6	22.0	334.1
	101.7	24.7	78.6	69.9	54.6	22.6	352.1
(1)	104	25	86	70	55	23	363

(1) Provisional.

ble III shows that, at the present time, agriculture with 41 per f the working population has 29 per cent of the total income, ıpared with 24 per cent in 1938. The proportion was about one- n 1926 when, however, agriculturists formed 53 per cent of the g population. Since 1938 the rise in agricultural income was greater

than for any of the other main sectors, but it is important always to bear in mind that the increase was from a very low level. It is only since the war that the agricultural community has become an important market. At the depth of the so-called Economic War, in 1934-35, when the national income was about £140 million, the Irish agricultural community had only £10½ million per annum to spend on household necessities from their agricultural income in cash; the corresponding sum was £20 million in 1938 but has increased latterly to £70 million per annum. In the increase in agricultural spending power lies the main hope of arresting or retarding the further decline in the rural population by creating employment in transport and distribution etc. (as well as in industry) in the smaller towns and villages.

The volume of consumption of consumers' goods and services increased by 18 per cent in 1949 compared with 1938: the increase has been continuous and substantial from year to year since 1944. While the relative rise in consumption in quantum terms was much greater in the case of the agricultural than of the non-agricultural population, there can be no doubt that the standard of living of the latter also rose significantly. Percentage increases in quantum terms between 1938 and 1949 were 12 for food, 15 for drink and tobacco, 11 for clothing, 48 for "other goods" and 30 for services, while quantum consumption of fuel and light decreased. It is significant of a rising standard of living that the percentage increases were greatest for "other goods" and services.

The underlying concept of savings and capital formation is that savings plus depreciation plus foreign disinvestment = gross domestic investment = imported capital goods ready for use plus home produced capital plus increase in stocks and work in progress. Between 1938 and 1949 savings increased from £12 million to £30 million or from 7½ per cent to 8½ per cent of the national income. The percentage for 1949 is rather low by international standards. Ireland has been making substantial drafts in her external holdings during the past few years to supplement her savings for the purpose of investment. The decline in external assets amounted to £30 million in 1947, to £20 million in 1948, to £10 million in 1949, but has risen again to £30 million in 1950. During the second quarter of the present year the decline in external assets was proceeding at an annual rate of at least £60 million, evidence of a full-blooded inflationary situation. While there was a substantial increase in gross domestic investment in 1950 compared with 1949, there are indications that there was a fairly substantial decline in personal savings as well as an increase in personal consumption between 1949 and 1950. During the past twelve months dissaving has occurred i.e. a withdrawal of past savings, some for capital formation proper but the greater part for consumption and stockpiling.

As regards gross domestic capital formation, in 1949 it totalled £48 million and was fairly equally divided between the categories (1) imported

goods ready for use, (2) building of private dwellings, schools, nd (3) other home-produced capital. It will always be borne in that these figures are gross, i.e. they include replacements at current s well as new capital formation; they do not include repairs and enance. Between 1938 and 1949 gross capital formation (excluding es in stocks) increased from £14 million to £47 million; allowing ice changes, the increase in volume of gross capital formation was 46 per cent. It is for industrial experts to say if this degree of gross l formation including productive and unproductive (or perhaps a correct term would be not directly productive) capital is adequate, ally having regard to the fact that during the past four years it was ary to make substantial drafts on external assets to attain it. Are ving enough? *Personal* savings as a percentage of personal income ised from 5.1 per cent in 1938 to 4.7 per cent in 1949: during ar years and up to 1946, personal savings were at a considerably level but they had largely the character of forced savings since mption goods were in such short supply: these were the years we were rapidly increasing our assets abroad. It may, however, reed that personal savings at 4–5 per cent of income are too low. eady stated, in 1950-51 there was a substantial dissaving.

TABLE IV

INDEX NUMBERS OF VOLUME OF PRODUCTION AND PERSONNEL IN AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY

(Base 1938 as 100)

	Agriculture		Industry			
			All Industry (C.I.P.) (1)		Manufacturing Industry (C.I.P.)	
r	Gross Volume	Male Personnel (June 1)	Volume	Personnel	Volume	Personnel
6 (2)	95.5	111.2 (3)	61.8	61.7	65.7	57.9
1 (2)	(4)	104.7	68.5	66.5	70.3	62.7
8 (2)	100	100	100	100	100	100
6	97.4	96.7	102.1	100.8	111.8	110.2
7	91.9	94.5	113.3	110.4	120.5	117.8
8	92.9	93.0	128.6	119.0	132.0	123.2
9	99.7	89.7	146.1	124.2	149.7	129.5
0 (5)	96.0	87.5	159.2	132.4	166.4	130.3

(1) Including building, public utilities, and other industries of the service type as well as manufacturing industry proper, as included in the Census of Industrial Production (C.I.P.)
(2) Agricultural year ending during year following.
(3) 1927.
(4) Not available.
(5) Provisional as regards industry.

Table IV may be regarded as an appendix to Table III in showing the trend in the volume of agricultural and industrial production and in parallel employment in these two great divisions of the economy. The table does not call for special comment. It shows the static character of agricultural output and again the sharp decline in agricultural personnel, the great increase in industrial production from its low level in 1926 and the lesser, though substantial, increase in industrial employment during recent years. The available statistics for the present year indicate some decline in the volume of agricultural production, a further substantial decline in agricultural manpower and also a perceptible retardation in the rate of increase in industrial production and employment. This retardation is possibly due in part to the high prices and scarcity of imported materials on which Irish industry is largely based.

A very satisfactory feature of the recent industrial trend has been the unbroken increase in productivity, i.e. output per man hour. Taking 1936 as 100, productivity in manufacturing industries was 99 in 1946, 106 in 1947, 111 in 1948, 121 in 1949 and (approximately) 129 in 1950. During the war years the figure was as low as 84, due largely to shortage and poor quality of materials and to the policy of keeping people in jobs. The recent figures are a tribute to the increasing efficiency and better training of employees, as well as to managerial organization, increased mechanization and, no doubt, to increased availability of more suitable materials. In this connection it is also pertinent to observe that the maintenance of the pre-war level of agricultural output from a considerably reduced labour force—the number of men in agriculture declined by 12½ per cent between 1938 and 1950—means that agricultural productivity increased by about 10 per cent since prewar. Admittedly the employment situation was fundamentally different pre-war in agriculture and industry, in that in agriculture the low output per person engaged was due to the endemic under-employment of relatives assisting farmers who constituted a large part of the labour force.

Balance of International Payments

The Irish Balance of International Payments is characterized by a very considerable import excess (£17 million in 1938, £87 million in 1950, and, as already observed, a further increase in 1951), financed by a substantial balance on invisible current account (the principal items of which in 1950 were net income from visitors £24 million, emigrants' remittances £10 million, net income from investments £9 million) as well as by large drawings on external assets, and by extern transfers to this country, on the capital side. As already remarked Irish external assets are largely the result of forced savings during the two wars when imports were at a low level while exports, mostly of agricultural products, were more or less maintained

nemployment

It is another paradox in the Irish economic situation that, during the ter-war period, Ireland had many of the signs of over-population and the same time our density of population is low. During that period, r instance, our rural income per head was very low, and the general nigration rate and the unemployment rate were high by Western European andards. In 1950 the percentage unemployed averaged 7.5, less than alf the rate of 15.6 per cent in 1939, and comparing with 9.0 per cent 1949. Substantial declines occurred in all industrial groups, most nportant in the case of building in view of the large number in this dustrial group, from the high average of 26.2 in 1939 to 9.6 per cent 1950, concomitant with the high level of building activity during recent ars.

oncluding Remarks

In this paper I have had time only to treat the generalities of the conomic trend since the Treaty. I have scarcely dealt with, for example, dividual industries, particular areas of the country etc., in which regard must be content to refer you to the special statistical reports which splay the relevant statistics in considerable detail. You may find the elected Bibliography useful in this connection.

Over the past quarter century the economic and social trend may be mmarized as follows :—

(*a*) Greater political stability than in almost any other country in the world, which is not to praise us unduly.

(*b*) Stability of the population which may not be unrelated to (*a*) by cause or by effect.

(*c*) At a time when the level of national material prosperity was never so satisfactory, emigration continues at a high level without a decline in the total population because emigration is merely a skimming-off of the high natural increase. The marriage rate remains the lowest in the world though it was high by Irish standards during the years 1942-1946 at 5.9 per thousand population per annum, but has since receded. Fertility of marriage is still high, though it also is declining. The net reproduction rate gives no cause for concern at its present level of 1.4.

(*d*) Development of subsidized housing and other social services to a fair relation, if not to the limit, of what our resources permit.

(*e*) Increase in the national income in real terms by 24 per cent since 1938 and by over 40 per cent since 1926.

(*f*) Increase in industrial output by 150 per cent since 1926 though from a low level so that the proportion of the working population in industry is now about one-fifth, as compared with one-third for countries in Europe with balanced economies : there is accordingly great scope for further development, by this test.

(*g*) Stagnation in agriculture, though with an increase of 70 per cent in agricultural real income per head since 1938, due to increase in prices of agricultural produce with a slight fall in total volume of output and a decline in the agricultural working population which in the last five years has assumed the dimensions of an exodus and is continuing.

(*h*) A marked inflationary tendency during the past twelve months, characterized by a considerable rise in prices, increases in wages and salaries, a marked propensity to consume instead of to save on the part of the general public, and a steep increase in the import excess.

R. C. GEARY

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF OFFICIAL STATISTICAL PUBLICATIONS

(1) Statistical Abstract 1950

Contains in summarized form all the available statistics relating to the State.

(2) Irish Trade Journal and Statistical Bulletin (quarterly), especially the issue of June 1951.

Contains up-to-date statistics with special analytical articles.

(3) Irish Statistical Survey 1949-50

Analysis of economic trends during the period 1938-50.

(4) Tables of National Income and Expenditure, 1939 and 1944-50

General data showing sources of national income, objects of national expenditure, savings and gross capital formation.

(5) External Trade 1950

Contains an analysis of the trend of external trade statistics.

(6) Interim Reports of the Census of Population 1946

Four of these reports have appeared. The attention of students is directed to the analyses of all the demographic features of the population to which the Census extended.

TRENDS IN AGRICULTURE

BY JOHN O'DONOVAN, M.A., D.ECON. SC.
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WHEN the State came into being in 1922, the Government was preoccupied with the problems of the establishment of legal and civil machinery and of law and order. Immediately that these had been disposed of in part, attention was turned to the question of the development of the economic resources of the country. The rights of the remaining landlords were compulsorily purchased under the Land Act, 1923, and the entire land of the country came into the ownership of the farmers working it. The next problem was the question of the organisation and development of agriculture so as to meet the intense competition then commencing on the British market in protein foods from Denmark and the Antipodes and from Canada in store cattle.

Since the 1st April, 1923, about £40,000,000 gross has been provided by the State in approximately equal parts for land purchase and the division of one million acres of untenanted land. This includes expenditure in the region of £8,500,000 on improvement works, the bulk of which has been incurred on the untenanted land. The reduction in 1933 of the land purchase annuities payable by the farmers to one-half of the previous amounts and the system of charging to purchasing tenants only about one-sixth of the improvements expenditure has left a sum of about £25,000,000 to be borne by the State as a final charge.

Although the necessity for mechanisation of agriculture to increase the output of workers employed rather suggests that land division should not be carried any further and would be difficult to justify on strictly economic and financial grounds, there can be little doubt that from a social point of view the community received excellent value for the moneys expended. The small houses built in very large numbers by the Land Commission during the thirties cost an average of about £350 each, which may be compared with an average of about £1,350 a house for workers' dwellings at present. The fall in the value of money has, therefore, in the event justified to a considerable extent expenditure which in stable conditions might not be defensible.

I

The opening years of the new era were, however, depressing in the extreme for agriculture. The difficulties created by the civil war in 1922 and strike of port workers in 1923 were succeeded, when ordinary trading conditions returned, by two very unfavourable seasons. This matter

formed the main theme of the Introduction to the *Report of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland*, 1923–26 :—

> " The summers of 1923 and 1924 were harsh, gloomy and sunless, while the autumn and winter months were characterised by continuously heavy rains which kept the soil sodden throughout, and caused extreme discomfort to grazing stock on pastures . . .
>
> " In 1923 and 1924, the quality of the hay saved was very inferior, and the corn crops returned disappointing yields of light, badly filled grain. Roots also proved more or less a failure . . . The persistent summer rains of 1924 destroyed any possibility of saving turf and at the approach of winter in that year the consequent acute shortage of fuel caused much inconvenience in many counties until the favourable June of 1925 enabled the customary stocks of the ordinarily used firing to be available again. During the grazing seasons of 1923 and 1924, pastures were deficient in feeding quality, consequently stocks did not thrive as well as usual and when marketed were thin and backward in condition. In the late autumn of 1924, as a result of two wet seasons coming in succession, serious losses from Liver Fluke disease occurred among sheep and to some extent among cattle. The areas most severely affected lay chiefly in the low-lying portions of Leitrim, Roscommon, Galway and Clare ".

During these two years there was one significant favourable feature. The yield and the quality of the potato crop was good in both years. This must have tided many small farmers over these lean years but even this crop could not be utilised to the greatest advantage. The greater portion of the potato crop is fed to pigs and owing to low prices the returns from this were so disappointing that there was a reduction of almost forty per cent in the number of pigs between June, 1923 and June, 1925.

The Report may again be quoted as to the rapid recovery :

> " The crop season of 1925 was much better than that of 1923 or of 1924. Although the weather during the spring months was harsh and unseasonable and the sowing of crops took place much later than usual, very favourable weather set in early in June and continued almost uninterruptedly until the late autumn. The hay crop was all cut and saved in excellent condition and, although yields were considerably below average, the quality of the fodder was better than for many years. Pastures afforded extremely good grazing for all kinds of stock during the summer. The corn harvest proved favourable both in yield and quality of grain. Yields of potatoes were unusually heavy, and the tubers, which were of very superior eating quality, were dug and stored in excellent condition. The calm warm autumn months favoured both turnips and mangels . . . The winter remained mild and open throughout and with pastures continuing to carry an abundance of grass, fodder supplies were ample for the upkeep of outlying stock.
>
> " Values for fat cattle and stores remained at a high level all through the spring and early summer of 1925 . . . The season was a satisfactory one for sheep owners. Lambs were plentiful and healthy, and in the early part of the season demand was brisk and prices remunerative. After a period of fluctuation during the first half of the year, pork prices became steady at an encouragingly high level. This, together with the abundance of potatoes, caused a large number of sows to be bred from, and in the spring of 1926 the numbers of pigs available for curing and for export were steadily approaching the normal."

Unfortunately the civil disturbance in Ireland had been aggravated by a strike of port workers which lasted for about six months in the year 1923. This was terminated partly by the action of the farmers, with pigs available for export, who chartered ships and loaded the vessels themselves. They also in certain ports unloaded cargoes of grain. As a result, however, of these various disturbances and the climatic difficulties of the year 1924-25, the exports of agricultural produce reached a low level in the year 1925. Moreover, the creamery butter varied greatly in quality, some of it being inferior, and eggs for export were often dirty and badly packed so that the prices of these products were adversely affected.

A serious threat to the export trade in live cattle had also appeared. The promise given to the Canadian Government at a meeting of the British Imperial War Conference held in 1917 had been implemented early in 1923 by the enactment of legislation removing the embargo on the importation of Canadian cattle into Britain. There were grave fears in Ireland that, in a year when prices were low in North America, an inflow of store cattle might come on the British market which would have very serious effects on prices.

In so far as Government action could deal with the matter, steps were already being taken in 1924 and the Acts for the improvement in the breeding of livestock, for the regulation of creamery butter production and marketing, and for the marketing of eggs by standardising the methods of testing, grading and packing were already being placed on the Statute Book. These followed recommendations made by the Agricultural Commission of 1923, based in the main on the evidence of the technical officers concerned with these matters serving in the Department of Agriculture. Once settled conditions prevailed, these regulations, which were introduced gradually and perfected as the means became available, began to have a decisive effect on the quality of the agricultural produce exported and this, combined with the prosperity which existed generally in Western Europe until the American Stock Market crash in the autumn of 1929, resulted in a period of comparative prosperity for the Irish farmers.

When the world economic crisis began to develop seriously at the beginning of 1930, it was noticeable that the countries engaged in the export of protein foods (bacon, beef, butter, eggs, etc.) did not feel the impact as soon as the countries engaged in the production of primary commodities such as grain, with the result that agriculture in Ireland continued to be relatively prosperous during most of the year 1930. In that autumn, however, a serious fall occurred in the price of dairy produce with the result that the Tariff Commission recommended to the Government that a duty of 4d. per lb. should be placed on butter imported. Up to that time, it had been the custom to export the surplus dairy products produced in the summer months and to import butter from abroad to meet requirements in the late winter and spring. This tariff, which was

prohibitory, was the first sign of the decay in the competitive position of Irish dairy produce and there has resulted from it the present system whereby butter produced in summer is held in cold storage to supply winter requirements and exports of butter from Ireland are made no longer.

To return to the main trend. It was soon found that store cattle from Canada could not be imported to compete seriously on the British market with store cattle from Ireland and this trade in live cattle continued to be quite prosperous, keeping the standard of living of the farming community in Ireland on a higher level than in most other countries until the economic dispute with Great Britain started.

One change in the character of the export trade in live cattle has occurred during the past twenty years. In 1930 a considerable part of the store cattle exported were under two years and went out through the southern ports of Cork, Waterford and Rosslare. In recent years, British farmers want store cattle which can be fattened in less than six months and very few beasts under two years are exported, the demand being mainly for animals over three years of age and in forward condition. As a result, most beef animals now raised for export are sold by the breeders in the southern and western counties to cattle traders who resell them to the grazing farmers in the eastern part of Ireland and there is only an internal market for young cattle where formerly there was also an export market.

When the Irish Government decided in 1932 to withhold the annuities under the earlier land purchase Acts, which had previously been remitted to Britain, the British Government imposed duties on commodities from Ireland in an effort to collect the amounts involved. It is hardly necessary to give in detail the history of that dispute, save to mention that tariffs were imposed on agricultural produce from Ireland generally at a level of 40 per cent and, moreover, quotas were fixed by Britain reducing the imports of fat cattle from Ireland. The result was a serious falling off in the standard of living of the Irish farming community during the period of six years while the dispute lasted. It was unfortunate that when it ended in the spring of 1938 there was not a longer period before the outbreak of hostilities in Europe. Owing to the low level of their monetary incomes during the period of the dispute, farmers generally were unable to keep their working capital equipment in proper order and the land itself, buildings and machinery, were still in a very poor state when the second world war commenced and then imports of fertilisers and equipment virtually ceased in 1942.

There was, however, one aspect of Government policy which, in the event, proved of great advantage. To encourage tillage as a matter of policy and as an offset to the decline in the price of livestock and livestock products caused by the tariffs, the Government had guaranteed the prices of cereal crops and this had resulted in the growing of one-quarter of

million acres of wheat in 1938, so that it was relatively easy to expand e area to the extent necessary to supply the main part of the country's heat requirements during the war years. If the growing of wheat had ot been encouraged during the 1930s, this rapid expansion would not ave been possible as the seed, machinery and equipment necessary ould not have been available in the country.

Compulsory tillage had nevertheless to be adopted as a policy by the overnment during the war years and this, combined with the shortage fertilisers, resulted in some impoverishment of the soil. The Fertiliser oucher scheme which assisted wheat growers to purchase artificial anures during the years after the war has encouraged farmers to take eps to restore soil fertility. Other remedial measures have also been ken. For example, the present Lime Subsidy Scheme should have the fect of again putting the land to which the ground limestone is applied to good condition provided adequate dressings of phosphatic manures e applied at the same time.

The Land Reclamation Project which embraces part of the lime scheme as the most ambitious single project for the improvement of agriculture tempted since 1921. It is rather early yet to attempt to appraise the fect of a scheme initiated in 1949 and intended to be completed in a eriod of ten years but the results up to the present have not been im-ressive and, as is perhaps inseparable from a scheme of this nature in e initial stages, an excessive part of the total expenditure incurred has one on administrative costs.

Apart from the schemes already mentioned, the State has a variety of pecial schemes mainly for the improvement of livestock. These have presented developments of earlier schemes started after the Department Agriculture was established and have been a success. The veterinary rvices, which were of very limited scope in 1921, have been developed d widened and veterinary education and research adequately endowed. criticism it might perhaps be said that the Department has been rather ow to discard schemes of doubtful utility and to adopt new approaches the economic and technical problems arising from the decline in the ral population. In general, during the twenty-five years from 1922-1947, ere was no fundamental change in agricultural methods in Ireland.

Moreover, when the field of primary production in agriculture is amined it is found that, excluding the development of the important ade in seed potatoes with foreign countries, the only new crop introduced nce 1921 is the sugar beet. The industry in the Republic of Ireland tes from the Beet Sugar (Subsidy) Act, 1925. A factory was erected Carlow to deal with the crop of sugar beet grown in 1926. Technically e industry was a success from the start and when the Fianna Fail party me into power three additional factories were erected in 1934 at Mallow, hurles and Tuam. During the depression of the thirties, when sugar

could be purchased in the world markets at less than a penny a lb., the industry had to be heavily protected but during the emergency period and subsequently it has proved invaluable. At present the Irish Sugar Company is administratively, technically and scientifically an outstanding organisation and sugar is produced at less than world prices. Moreover, the Company makes seeds, manures and machinery available to farmers on credit to be paid for when the crop is delivered and has also established an excellent service for delivery and spreading of ground limestone for farmers at cost price.

The adoption recently on a more widespread scale of ensilage of grass and tops of sugar beet provides improvement in the fodder position when wet summers reduce the feeding value of the hay crop and together with the boiling of potatoes for storage in quantity by means of large boilers should increase the capacity of farms to carry stock.

II

Considerable research work on many of the practical problems has been carried out in the University Colleges and agricultural schools and the high level of technical skill and achievement in, for example, the dairying industry is the best test of the manner in which the faculties at Dublin and Cork have carried out their work.

One aspect of education at University level seems to require consideration. The present course in general agriculture consists of a number of basic science subjects at first year level and the number being large this takes two years. A further two years are devoted mainly to the study of the application of the basic sciences to agriculture. This type of course is very suitable for those subsequently taking up general extension work or farming. It might be preferable that in the case of other students instead of such a wide field there should be specialisation in the later years with the students continuing to study the selected subjects primarily as pure science rather than applied scientific subjects and spending an additional year on the application to agriculture of the subject or subjects studied. These graduates would be suitable for appointment to research posts on such branches of agricultural science as grasslands and plant breeding.

Until recently also, there has not been much attention paid to farm management, farm economics and farm accounting problems except by a few persons engaged mainly on other work. If policy is not to be decided on the basis of prejudices or enthusiasms, it is necessary that additional attention should be given to the organisation and financing of agriculture. The problems involved, while complex, can be stated relatively easily but there will be no unanimity as to the solutions to be adopted.

There is no doubt that during any period when cereals can be imported cheaply pasture farming is attractive to farmers as it procures for them

e greatest net income per acre from a given input of labour and capital. his net income could be greatly increased by close attention to the emical and physical conditions of the soil and better seeding methods. beginning has been made in this matter in recent years but little advance n be achieved unless farmers are prepared to make use of the services ovided and to apply the remedies which scientific investigation shows be necessary.

In this connection, " the parish plan " had considerable possibilities. rmers, like others, respond to pressure from close at hand and the esence in each area of a trained agriculturist might have significant sults in the long run.

The scheme of technical assistance provided by U.S.A. under ECA s been availed of by the Department of Agriculture to send many chnical and scientific officers to study there aspects of agriculture which ve not previously been attended to in Ireland. When these officers turn here specific problems can be referred to them. This is particularly e case in matters arising on the economic and financial aspects of agricul- re, the study of which has been neglected up to the present.

Despite the continuous attention given to the matter by the Depart- ents of Industry and Commerce and External Affairs, no increase worth entioning has occurred in the exports of industrial goods in recent years. ny attempt to deal with the adverse trade balance, which has increased much in the current year, must, therefore, be based almost entirely agriculture. If the present agricultural output could be raised, the hole of the increase would be available to swell exports.

Since the devaluation of sterling in 1949 a valuable market has opened in U.S.A. for fresh beef of good quality and manufacturing beef of condary quality. Already this trade has grown to quite large proportions d there is a definite prospect of further development of it. U.S.A. has come in the long term a meat importing country and although the ade from here may receive setbacks from time to time it seems to be e of the most promising ways of easing our dollar problem.

The manufacture of chocolate crumb and of condensed and dried ilk for export have also added to the nation's income but further develop- ent of export industries containing sugar is problematical even in the ort term. Another limiting factor is the necessity of manufacturing fficient creamery butter to supply the home market.

In a year or two, unless war supervenes, it will be apparent that the eservation of the present standard of living in the Republic of Ireland, pecially in the cities, will depend upon a major expansion of production in riculture and the secondary industries associated with it. Is this likely to ppen? One way of ascertaining the probable answer to this question to examine the history of our agriculture in this respect during the riod since the end of the first world war. The most remarkable feature

is that there has been no increase in gross output since 1921. This compares unfavourably with other countries exporting protein foods. There is no simple explanation. A general answer might be given that political and economic conditions have been too unsettled during the period. A more specific answer would be that working capital sufficient to compensate for the loss of labour leaving the land and to provide for the effective mechanisation of farming and fertilisation of the land has not been put into agriculture either by farmers ploughing back savings or by loans made available through the financial system. There is some evidence of a new approach to the problem since 1948 which was the first year that imported machinery, fertilisers, etc., became available in any quantity following the end of hostilities in Europe. There is a possibility that the present improved standard of living among farming community may lead to increased output. The desire to maintain the net income position reached in recent years may result in harder and better work. This is more likely to operate among the younger farmers than among those in later middle age and in old age who have in the past been used to a lower standard for long periods and may be more inclined to ease off once that standard has been exceeded substantially. The evidence suggests on the whole that we are rapidly reaching the age of farming on factory lines with high capitalisation required.

In this connection it is to be regretted that since the end of the emergency period in 1945, so little additional working capital has been employed by farmers who were under-capitalised. The advances made by the Agricultural Credit Corporation to farmers are not very much greater than in 1938 while the cost of agricultural machinery has generally speaking trebled. Although risk may be involved, it would be better that a secondary grade of credit at a rate of interest of, say, seven per cent should be established by the Corporation, the only security required to be a mortgage on the chattel purchased by the farmer, than that the present position should continue. A more flexible system still might be developed by giving the Corporation itself discretion as to the rate to be charged for any particular type of credit with the basic rate of four and one-half per cent charged as at present for loans secured by land mortgage.

For the future, it is important with the devaluation of sterling that Ireland should concentrate on forms of agriculture which on the export market make the best comparative price. The price policy now pursued by the British Ministry of Food has been leading to concentration here to a greater and greater extent on cattle and sheep raising. Having regard to the large discrepancy in price paid for Irish eggs as compared with the price paid to United Kingdom producers, it is quite impossible to import maize and produce eggs here profitably for export to Britain. Some of those concerned with these matters draw the deduction that we should go in for an extensive tillage policy. This simplifies the problem

uly. If the problem of dollar currency becomes so serious that we ıot pay for imported wheat (and this could happen in a number of s which it is scarcely necessary to describe) there will be no option to grow sufficient for our own requirements. It would be optimistic ssume that Ireland could do this and also produce fodder barley and to an extent that would enable an export trade in pigs and bacon e built up again. Experience during the period 1940-47 ought to have ght that lesson conclusively. As regards eggs, unless the British will prepared to pay to our producers a price close to that paid to their , production for export at the much lower price level means an accept- by our farmers and farm workers of a lower standard of living than ıers and farm workers enjoy in the United Kingdom. No emphasis can, efore, be placed on egg production in this country unless British price cy is radically revised.

Despite these complications, the general position at present suggests an increase in the area under tillage is desirable. It may not be achieved ss there is further mechanisation of agriculture, in which respect our em compares unfavourably with other countries.

There is not the slightest doubt that mechanisation greatly increases ut. There may be some loss in quality but this is counterbalanced fold by the increase in the workers' output. Rural electrification ıld not alone provide light on winter evenings but also enable many he farmyard chores to be carried out mechanically (milking, cutting ips, timber, etc.). Of all developments which might lead to increased ductivity on mixed farms, therefore, the provision of capital on a e scale for mechanisation is the most likely to lead to really fruitful lts. The interest shown by younger farmers all over Ireland in farming ı tractors is the best augury in this regard.

It is noticeable that in periods when agriculture is relatively pros- ous, farmers tend to take a greater part in societies for the discussion gricultural affairs.

On the social side of agriculture, three organisations have grown up in nt years, Muintir na Tíre, Macra na Feirme (Young Farmers Clubs) the Irish Countrywomen's Association. The Irish Farmers' Union ch existed in the twenties did not survive the depression in agriculture the new organisations appear to be solidly established and should have siderable influence in the improvement of rural life and outlook.

JOHN O'DONOVAN

THE CHANGING PATTERN OF IRISH LIFE

BY SEAMUS O'FARRELL

THOSE who have lived through the past half century have witnessed more changes, social and economic, than occurred in any simila period of the world's history. In our own country the change was revolu tionary. Poverty fifty years ago was real; now it is comparative. A the beginning of the century it was still possible to die here of starvatio unless the misery of existence was prolonged within the walls of the Poo House. The poor are still with us; but actual destitution, if it is sti to be found in Ireland, is rare and avoidable.

Imperceptibly almost the Welfare State has come into existence. Fro birth to death we are offered, sometimes even forced to accept, the bene volently-intended intervention of the State in our personal affairs. Ther are Children's Allowances, pensions for the blind and old, for widows an orphans; there is Unemployment Benefit and Unemployment Assistanc there are free milk and free meals for children. Medical, hospital an sanitorium services are available free for those who need them and wh cannot pay. Municipal authorities do not yet supply houses free of rent but by means of subsidies out of local rates and taxation, rents are kep at low levels. Working conditions have been improved through legislatio affecting factories and shops, holidays have been declared a legal obligatio on employers. In many cases a downward limit has been fixed for wage and a maximum price for the sale of goods in shops.

The list might be extended even further, but we all know what ha been done to improve the condition of the workers and none know i better than the workers themselves. Perhaps I err in supposing that the do. It is only the older people amongst them who can remember wha life was like even forty years ago. The others are concerned, as we a are, about the rising cost of living. So were the poor, and with greate reason, at the beginning of the century.

Between 1905 and 1912, according to the report of an inquiry publishe in the latter year by the British Board of Trade, the cost of essential food stuffs had risen by nearly fourteen per cent. That rise occurred her where every attempt then made to secure an increase in wages was re sented and sternly resisted. Of course, prices were low in compariso with those which are paid today; but the lowest of all was the price o labour. What did the workers do? You may well ask. They ate le and repatched their garments. There was nothing else they could d State assistance, reluctantly given and after imposing degrading conditio consisted of admission to the Poor House or relief in kind.

"Relief in kind" or, as it was all too familiarly known, Outdoor Reli consisted of a few loaves of bread, a pinch of tea, a small dole of suga

y ounces of margarine. To get it the recipient had to go personally to Poor House and present a ticket issued by the Relieving Officer. On widow and her children had to exist or to die. Rent was met by a itable organization, the Poor House being the only shelter the State willing to provide. The pennies of neighbours buried the dead. y suffered, God knows, and suffered in silence. The law-makers were way in Westminister, concerned with the demand for Home Rule. slum owners were represented in the Dublin Corporation. To whom d they appeal? To Caesar against Caesar?

The poor helped the poor when no other help was available. They the bread out of their own hungry mouths to those whose need greater. That same Board of Trade Report which has been quoted tioned also that 75 per cent of the working-class expenditure on food to purchase essentials. Luxuries consisted, for those who sought n, of porter at two-pence per pint and cigarettes at five for a penny. ngst the wage-earners there was less drinking than there is today, more drunkenness because stomachs empty of food were sooner ted by alcohol. But drunk or sober the poor were a class apart from est of society. How they lived was nobody's concern but their own. re they lived was decided for them by the rent of a tenement room. of sixteen shillings little remained to pay for shelter when a family had even half fed.

Many of today's commonplaces were then unknown. The telephone the typewriter were just beginning to appear; aeroplanes were not invented, cinemas and commercial dance halls were undreamt of. dles or paraffin lamps gave light in most houses and shops and streets nded for their light on coal gas. Concrete had not been accepted as ilding material in place of brick and stone. Clothes and boots were rted or made by local tradesmen in their own small work-rooms. lin's horse-drawn trams were still running. There was no youth nization excepting the Catholic Boys' Brigade until Fianna Eireann formed, and the streets were the children's playground. Military des, brass bands, the nobility and gentry stepping out of their carriages ublin Castle or the Shelbourne Hotel, were the only glimpses the le got of pageantry or style.

According to the mood of the moment, things may seem either better orse in retrospect than in fact they were. So, to make certain that shall be no misrepresentation of conditions in Dublin during the years of this century I quote from contemporary sources. Arnold ght, an English journalist who came over to report on the Dublin out and strike of 1913, declared in his book, *Disturbed Dublin*, " The Dublin slum is a thing apart in the inferno of social degradation". oes on: " Nowhere can there be found concentrated so many of the which are associated with the underworld of our modern civilization

To say that men and women live like beasts of the field is the meres truth. In buildings—old, rotten and permeated with both physical and moral corruption—they crowd in incredible numbers ". That was published in 1914.

Dublin's population at that time was about 300,000—half what it is today. Though we still hear complaints of bad housing conditions in the capital city, these are hardly comparable with what existed within the memory of many living persons. Arnold Wright conveniently supplies some facts given by officials of the Dublin Corporation at a Government Inquiry into Dublin housing conditions in November, 1913. There then were stated to have been 5,322 tenement houses, accommodating 25,822 families, comprising 87,305 persons. Twenty thousand of those families occupied one room each ; 4,402 families had only two-roomed dwellings in the tenements. The tenement houses were officially divided into three classes—those which appeared to be structurally sound ; those so badly constructed as to be almost unfit for human habitation ; and those actually unfit for human habitation. In the first group there were 1,516 tenements occupied by 8,295 families of 27,052 persons. In the 2,288 tenements which were beyond repair 37,552 persons lived, comprising 10,696 families. In the tenements wholly unfit for human habitation—there were 1,518 such houses—22,701 human beings were herded together. Judged by present standards, not ten per cent of all the tenement houses referred to would escape condemnation by housing authorities.

Mere figures from statistical reports can convey but a blurred picture of home life in the slums. An official of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Mr. John Cooke, described to the Inquiry what he himself had seen : "One room, measuring about sixteen feet square, with a small closet in it contains absolutely no furniture. The family of nine (seven children) sleep on the floor, on which there was not straw enough for a cat, and no covering of any kind whatever. The children were poorly clad ; one was wrapped in a rag of a kind, and his only other clothing was a very dirty loin cloth. The utensils were a zinc bucket, can, a few mugs and jam pots for drinking. Rent 2s. 3d. Wages in late weeks 4s. 6d. Maximum for some time past 12s. Another room, measuring fifteen feet by twelve, was occupied by a man, his wife and four children. The only furniture was " a poor bed, table, no seats and no cooking utensils ". The floor was broken in patches, and had a list. The ceiling was patched, the paper was peeling off the dirty walls and there was no proper ventilation. For that accommodation the rent was 4s. 1d. per week.

Recently in the Children's Court, Dublin, a father stated that he gave his fifteen-year-old son £1 a week for pocket money. At that age, less than forty years ago, boys working in Dublin factories or as messengers were paid seven shillings per week ; young girls received even less.

Skilled craftsmen, who had to be qualified by training and skill before trade unions would admit them to membership, thought themselves lucky earning 30s. to £2 per week. These, because they were comparatively in number, could expect constant employment. It was not so with others—the supposedly " unskilled labourers "—of whom there were Dublin, according to official records, more than forty-five thousand in year 1913. With their families they were the people of the Dublin ns, out of whose earnings came the rents for rooms which, even then, e officially described as " unfit for human habitation ". They were endent in the main on casual employment, liable any day in any week he year to be told that there was no more work for them. As abruptly hat, their earnings ceased ; always the fear of it happening, the almost tain expectation that it was about to occur, forced them to live on the ge of despair. The heads of families in tenement house rooms had no sent security, no hope for the near future. When employed for a week 5,604 of these men each received in wages 15s. or less. There re 9,000 who got between 15s. and £1, and 2,585 others were paid thing from £1 to 25s. per week. Few of the labouring men had security employment, none of them could have had economic security. There s no margin, low as the cost of living was, to save for future needs. oyd George's National Health Insurance Scheme, which promised " nine- nce for four-pence ", was only then being prepared, in order that periods sickness for the wage-earners should not continue to mean absolute titution for themselves and their dependants.

Against such a background of social degradation and economic despair nd the figures of Larkin and Connolly. Judge them by the conditions ich they fought to mend or end, and it must be admitted that they ld not have spoken and acted otherwise than as they did.

This remains to be said, without entering further into the battle between pital and Labour which marked the year 1913 in Dublin : the moment the men were appropriate for the task attempted. Others before se had preached the gospel of revolt ; others had sought to improve conditions of Irish workers. Though they seemed to have failed, they o had succeeded in preparing the way for what followed. So, too, though irectly, did the leaders of the movement for political independence p to arouse the Dublin workers from the apathy which, like a drug, rived them of the courage to resist what even they must have resented. e the half-conscious stirring of a sleeper awakening, mankind every- ere was tossing aside old ideas and reaching out towards a new way ife. That was especially apparent in Great Britain where wage demands strikes were occurring frequently. Here the movement for political dom obviously set men thinking of an improvement in their economic dition. Action followed thought, and the first World War did not end h the sounding of the cease fire. The fight was resumed along the

docks, in the factories and the mines, the strike being substituted for the gun.

It is necessary, I believe, to look back across the years in order to appreciate what has been achieved in the way of social progress, so that we may the more clearly see the road before us. Perhaps the advances made would, in time, have come about without the pressure of the organized industrial workers. Possibly political action alone might have achieved for the wage-earners all the advantages which this generation enjoys. Of a certainty—had it come in any other way—progress towards present conditions would have been slower ; the social consciences of governments too often incline to leave well enough alone, however bad it may be.

From being, as in the beginning they were, defensive organizations, trade unions, through increase in individual membership and inter-union co-operation, are now in a position at any time to disorganize completely all, or nearly all, the essential services of a country. Having that power there are some who would like to use it at every opportunity. Reckless of the consequences, these people endeavour to create trouble where none exists, or to extend it whenever it occurs. Like blind Samson they would shake the pillars of civilized society till human freedom and the trade unions together would be buried in the ruins. It has already happened in Russia ; it is an imminent danger elsewhere.

Admitting the progress already made we should aim at further advances along the same road. But it is becoming clear beyond all doubt that wage increases followed by increased prices, even if the latter are met wholly or in part by State subsidies, cannot continue indefinitely. Nor is a better way of life for all attainable by developing the Welfare State plan to its logical limit. The State cannot give without first taking away. What is called free must somehow and by somebody be paid for. When it provides everything, as some would have the State do, men and women will be fed, housed, herded and driven as cattle are, but freedom will have disappeared. It is happening, even here, yet the danger is being ignored by those who ought to guard against it.

There is no denying that the cost of living has risen and is still rising. So has the standard of living. We have wants and can satisfy them, of which our fathers were incapable of dreaming. We have more money to spend, and more to spend it on. We receive from the state and local authorities, as a right, guaranteed security from actual hunger ; hospitals, sanitoria, doctors, are freely available, housing conditions are better than ever before. Vastly though the standard of living has improved, the fault lies with many of ourselves that it is not higher still. Not the most disgruntled critic can truthfully say that the cost of living is six, eight or ten times higher now in Dublin than it was forty years ago. Nor could he deny that the weekly wage paid to a labourer has risen by six or seven hundred per cent in that period.

It is not my intention to argue for a stand-still in wages or conditions. urther improvement is desirable and should be possible. It will not ome about by transferring more and more of the individual's respon- bilities towards himself and his dependants to the State. There are other eans of reaching the desired end. Little or no attempt has yet been ade in this country, or is contemplated, to act on the advice given in ie Papal Encyclicals. Capital and Labour still regard each other as enemies, ie co-operation which the Popes suggested being scoffed at as imprac- cable without being tried. From a living wage for the individual worker e have progressed, in many cases, to securing a family wage, which the opes were first to advocate. What becomes of the family wage when is paid? Much of it, far too much, is not spent on supplying the family eeds. By all justifiable means let us try to raise wages and to increase urchasing power, even if it means, as it must, working harder. Let us lso learn to spend wisely and our standard of living will immediately mprove. Above all others, the poor can least afford to be improvident.

But, unless we are deliberately determined to drift into communist lavery, let us stop repeating the stupid propaganda of the calamity mongers vho, day in, day out, declare that we were never so badly off as we are ow, when, in actual fact, we are more fortunate than most nations and ave the power to continue advancing if we have the will.

II

So far we have been confining our remarks to Dublin. A somewhat imilar story might be told of conditions in Belfast forty years ago. Having tarted earlier, the organizing of the industrial workers there was further dvanced than in the southern capital, yet while the skilled workers in he Northern shipyards and foundries were, considered by the standards f that time, moderately well paid, those described as " unskilled labourers " vere little better off than their fellows in Dublin. The weekly wages of hipyard labourers in 1909 were from 17s. 6d. to 18s. 6d.; in the building rade the rates were 15s. to 17s.; men employed in mills and by small rms worked for 12s. to 15s. per week. Despite the similarity of the rates f pay, family incomes were probably higher in Belfast because of the umber of women and children employed in the textile mills. Skilled vomen workers occasionally earned 18s. per week, although the average eceived was about half that amount. The children—the " half timers " —who attended school three days a week, and worked ten hours on each f the other three days, were paid 3s. 6d. They began to work when ardly out of their infancy, wrote Robert Lynd, " and from the age of fteen upwards they died like flies."

Conditions of employment in other urban centres can be imagined rom what has been told of those which prevailed in the two chief cities.

To attempt to write the social history of Ireland in the first half of the twentieth century would involve, apart from economic considerations, a study of the political changes which, directly and indirectly, helped to alter the pattern of Irish life. That could not be done within the limitations of space imposed by a contribution to *Studies*. A hurried survey such as this, merely attempts to sketch in rough outline some of the economic and social changes which occurred within the period of the writer's own lifetime, hinting at, rather than assessing the many forces which operated in the transition from the old era to the new.

When the whole world was restlessly struggling towards some vaguely formed hope of better things it would have been impossible for the Irish people to remain unaffected. On the farms as in the factories, in this and every other country, traditional methods and previously accepted standards were being cast aside.

The first Land Act, passed by the British Parliament in 1881, will be remembered for the coercion which accompanied it rather than for any good it conferred. Not until 1909 was legal power given to acquire by compulsory purchase the estates of absentee and alien landlords. Thereafter Act succeeded Act, each making some small advance towards enabling Irish farmers to buy back the land from which their ancestors had been evicted. The Land War had not been fought in vain. Nor should it be forgotten—as it now tends to be forgotten—that when the farmers in England were combining to resist the demands of their labourers for better wages, the people of rural Ireland, labourers and others, were united in the fight to make Irish farmers owners of their land.

Lack of capital hampered our farmers even when they were no longer serfs, consequently agricultural wages here remained below the British level. The comparative rates were given by Mr. Wilson Fox in a Report made to the Board of Trade in 1905. Taking into account the value of all allowances such as accommodation, fuel and vegetables, the labourer's wage on Scottish farms then was 19s. 3d.; in England it was 18s. 3d.; in Wales 17s. 3d. and in Ireland 10s. 11d. It is not surprising that when, in 1913, the South-West Lancashire farm workers went on strike labourers from Irish farms crossed over to take their places. Most of these on arrival at Liverpool, after hearing the men's case, either joined the strikers or took employment in Yorkshire where there was no dispute.

Apart from other reasons the agricultural labourer in Britain was able to demand some improvement in wages because of the opportunities for alternative employment in industry. Here the farm worker had only the British army or emigration to choose between if he left the land; our industries, with the exception of brewing, distilling and biscuit making in the Twenty-Six Counties, did not begin to develop until after the Treaty. Previous to that date the Irish farmer benefited, because of the

reater need for and consequently the higher prices paid for home-pro-uced foodstuffs during the first World War. Grain crops went up in alue after the first year of the war by about fifty per cent; meat prices y roughly thirty-three per cent. Farm workers wages improved also, ut not very much. The upward trend of farm wages did not continue nbroken after the war; between 1925 and 1934, as was pointed out in ie Report of the Commission on Vocational Organisation, there was a eady decline until it reached 21s. per week in Ireland. In 1936 the gricultural Wages Board was set up to fix minimum rates of wages. y 1943 the minimum had been raised to 36s.; in 1949 it was 61s. 3d.; now varies, according to district, from £3 7s. 6d. in the lowest areas o £4 per week in Co. Dublin. It should be kept in mind that, because iis is an agricultural country, the wages paid to farm labourers affects age rates for labouring work in all rural occupations, such as road-making, orestry, etc., which are kept down so as not to attract men from the land.

Turning from wages and prices let us glance at other changes which ave taken place. The domestic economy of both farmers and farm bourers has altered in recent years, as indeed it has amongst all classes. he nearer the nation gets towards self-sufficiency, the more dependent ach family becomes on others for its requirements. More money is there-ore required to pay for those services. In the homes of the people, especially ose in rural areas, a greater number of ready-prepared foodstuffs are ow used than was customary twenty years ago. Home dressmaking is thing of the past; there is less knitting, and outside the few places here the tradition survives in its decline, spinning and weaving are ot even a memory. The spread of co-operative creameries has endered the farmhouse churn obsolescent, if not actually obsolete. The aker's cart has become a daily visitor to every village and to most rural omes. Mechanization of farm work has reduced the number of paid mployees, and has added to the skill of those still engaged another qual-ication—the management and care of machinery. Trades and crafts have one or are going from the country-side. The garage and the petrol ump have replaced the forge where horses and wheels were shod; the aking of harness and of farm carts are also vanishing trades; the village oemaker is now a mere cobbler, the tailor has been put out of employ-ent by the city clothing factories. Concrete posts and wire fencing are placing the hedges which skilled men once planted and laid. The bull-ozer and the mechanical mole are engaged on the work of land reclamation nd drainage. One pauses to wonder whether, when all has been said their favour, the replacing of man-power by machinery will ultimately rove to be an unmixed blessing.

Apart from what has already been mentioned, the motor car, the bus, e commercial cinema and the dance hall have contributed to alter the eople's way of life in rural Ireland. They no longer are willing or able

to provide their own amusements. The younger generation know more about the private lives of the screen stars than they do about the history of their own parish. Hollywood and Elstree are the windows through which they look at life. The glamour of the cities, as seen in " glorious technicolour " on the screen, lures them to leave their homes, and their departure is made almost imperative because so few opportunities are offered them to remain at home.

The development of rural electrification, in addition to the domestic advantages it confers, makes possible the decentralization of industries. If this means only the setting up of factories in selected parts of the provinces the benefit can be overstressed. If—as it should—it enables us to re-establish throughout the country local industries and craft-work the gain will be incalculably great. Such movements as Muintir na Tíre, the Irish Countrywomen's Association and the Young Farmers Clubs are an encouraging sign of rural Ireland's desire to shape its own future. Industrial efficiency, even if it guaranteed economic security, will not stop the drift from the land. Much more is needed, including better facilities for social and cultural activities through the voluntary cooperation of all within the community group. While the state and local authorities can assist in many ways to improve the conditions under which people live, it rests with the people themselves to create that spirit of harmony without which economic prosperity will be unstable and real happiness unattainable. There are things of value which money cannot buy nor the State supply. City dwellers may not yet see this ; rural people ought not to forget it.

SEAMUS O'FARRELL

EDUCATION

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The work of the first Minister in Education in a free Ireland will be a ork of creation, for out of chaos he will have to evolve order and into a ead mass he will have to breathe the spirit of life.

PATRICK PEARSE : *The Murder Machine*

PEARSE'S *Murder Machine* (1912) is an indictment of the educational system imposed by British policy on Ireland, with some suggestions or the time when Irishmen would have in their own hands the education f their children. It is a bitter indictment, a picture of white and black ith the black very black indeed. To those unacquainted, either personlly or by hearsay, with the system it may sound exaggerated, even ysterical, in parts. Yet it is but one of a long series of such charges gainst the system, all of them urged by men who had personal experience f the evils which they were exposing.

There was certainly a good deal of chaos in the system. Five distinct odies controlled the various types of school in the country. They were ompletely independent in action. There was no co-ordination of the arious types of education which was given, there was no co-operation etween one Body and another. That the education given in the schools as a " dead mass " will be to some degree substantiated by the following rief accounts of the primary and secondary education of the period. t was by no means true of the technical training given.

We have now had domestic control over our education for thirty years nd the question may fairly be asked : Have the successive Irish Ministers ulfilled the task set them by Pearse ? Only an examination of the system s it stands at present can answer that question. In the following pages n account will be given of the three most widespread types of education n the country : primary, secondary and vocational, and their present osition will be examined in the light of Pearse's words.

No account is given here of University Education. No substantial hange has taken place in the Universities since the change of Governent. Their main problem, that of the National University at least, has een the greatly increased number of students. This has resulted in ntolerable overcrowding, particularly in the Dublin College. It has also ut a well-nigh impossible strain on the University teacher for, owing hiefly to financial reasons, the staff has not increased proportionately ith the students. In these circumstances there is a real danger that one f the primary duties of a University teacher will be neglected. I refer

to research work. One other problem should be discussed : the position of the Universities with regard to the Irish language. University College, Dublin, has been vociferously and, in my opinion, unjustly and ignorantly attacked for its alleged hostility. But it would be impossible with the space at my disposal to deal adequately with that charge. Briefly, the charge is based on a lack of information of the facts of the case and on an ignorance or misconception of the true function of a University.

I

Primary Education

Under British Rule—Elementary education in Ireland prior to 1921 was controlled by the National Board of Education which was set up in 1831. The system was, and still remains, one which is in many ways unique. The schools are not owned by a local or central authority although the major cost of building a school is generally undertaken by the Minister of Education, the teachers' salaries are paid by him, and the education provided is free. The schools are usually vested in trustees, one of whom is the Bishop of the diocese, and a manager—in practice the local incumbent—is appointed to control the school. He appoints the teachers, decides the programme to be followed, and is charged with the upkeep of the fabric. About one third of the schools are non-vested. They belong to Religious Congregations or to the local incumbent. The schools are in theory undenominational though in fact the great majority are either Catholic or non-Catholic. The proportion of Catholics in the schools in 1948 was 97%. All these anomalies have their causes in history.

The aim in setting up the Board was to try to control in some way a widespread system of private schools which were growing in number in spite of the age-long hostility of the Crown to any form of native education. The form which ensued was a compromise. The Board recognised the existing situation, accepted the system of local management, and tried to establish control by imposing its own curriculum and teaching methods. In this latter attempt it was to a large extent successful.

For thirty years before 1900 the amount of the teacher's salary depended on the results of an annual oral examination of his pupils. This " Results " system tended to produce a very mechanical form of teaching, aimed mainly at satisfying the inspector. Thus, a child passed the Reading Test if he read a sentence correctly, even if he did not understand a word of it. This system was abolished in 1900, and with the substitution of a regular salary matters improved.

But it was on the ground of their anti-national character that these " National " schools have been most heavily assailed. The Irish language was never recognised as a regular subject, though in 1879 it was allowed to be taught as an " optional " subject, provided that the standard of the

er subjects was maintained. In 1921 it was being taught more or less ctively in about 2,000 out of a round 5,500 schools. Irish history was taught nor were Irish songs allowed in the Board's school manual of sic. The quality of the reading matter in the supplied text-books was notoriously anti-Irish character. The following is a typical example : n the East of Ireland is England where the Queen lives. Many people o live in Ireland were born in England, and we speak the same language are called one nation."

Such an institution should have succeeded in turning out generations *déracinés*, of children indoctrinated in English ways of life. Yet, ngely enough, it did not succeed. Its failure was due, in the main, our National Teachers. They had to read the books assigned, but y were able to counteract the influence of those books to a large extent their own attitude of integrity and of sturdy independence, and by the that they were highly esteemed in their locality and that their opinions e received with respect.

In one matter the system did seem to have succeeded. Its attitude rish coincided with the rapid decay of the language in the 19th century, it is customary to blame the " Board " for the loss. That it was a tributory cause may well be granted. That it was the whole cause is re than doubtful. The major part of the blame must be attributed to social and economic conquest. The parents wanted their children know English and not Irish. English was necessary, Irish was not. d so the parents co-operated, though frequently against their will, with ressive measures initiated in the school, and thus brought it about that glish was learnt and Irish was killed.

The New Programme—With the coming of the new State in 1921 it felt that one of the first things to be done was to tackle the problem primary education. The Commissioners were politely dismissed at early date in 1922 and they were replaced temporarily by an officer ctly responsible to the Minister. Already in 1921 an unofficial ference had been called by the I.N.T.O. (Irish National Teachers' anisation), and had made recommendations to the Minister. These sions were taken over by the Minister and they remained in force l 1926. The Conference found two main defects in the old pro- nme : too many subjects, and the anti-national character of the schools. heir chief recommendations were that the number of obligatory subjects uld be drastically curtailed and that Irish language and history should iven a predominant place in the course. The schools were to be given task of reviving the language. Two enactments are characteristic : The work of the Infant schools is to be entirely in Irish ; (2) Instruc- in the History and Geography of Ireland is to be given through the ium of Irish. However, two very important restrictions were made.

To quote from the proceedings of the Conference: "It was decided at an early stage of the proceedings that in the case of schools where the majority of the parents of the children object to have either Irish or English taught as an obligatory subject, their wishes should be complied with."[1] And again: "That teachers who owing to circumstances of age and opportunity are unable to take up, or fit themselves for, the teaching of Irish, should not be penalised on that account."

In 1925 a revisionary Conference was called by the Minister to examine on the progress made under the 1921 programme. The Conference found that there was a great volume of criticism, that it was felt that unreasonable demands were being made on teachers, that there was a lowering of standards. The Conference was of opinion that there had been an attempt to advance too rapidly. Hence it advocated a slowing down. For example, to the enactment on History and Geography it added the clause "only where the teacher is competent to teach through Irish and where the children can assimilate such teaching."

Training of Teachers—Both Conferences recommended that changes be made in the training of teachers. It was felt that the five Training Colleges were not getting good material. For example, on the final examination in these Colleges candidates may apply for first year University standing if their papers reach a certain standard. In 1924, out of 255 such students who applied only 44 were accepted.

Facts such as these led to the setting up of the Preparatory Colleges in 1926. These are residential schools to which entry is gained by competitive examination and in which a course of secondary education is followed. Four such Colleges were set up in 1926. In the ensuing years their number and location varied; at present there are six, five for Catholics and one for Church of Ireland pupils. They supply about one-third of the total number of lay teachers called to training. The remainder are students who have obtained Honours in the Leaving Certificate Examination in other schools.

The School Attendance Act—The problem of the quality of the teachers was aggravated by the new Attendance Act which became operative in 1927 for the whole country. An Attendance Act had been passed in 1892, but its operation had been left to the discretion of the local authorities. With the exception of the local County Boroughs it was rarely enforced. The Conference of 1921 found that the average attendance in Ireland was about 50% which compared very unfavourably with Scotland where in places it reached 90% and 95%. The new Act made attendance at school compulsory between the ages of 6 and 14 and it empowered the Minister to raise the age to 16. So far no change has been made.

[1]This clause was introduced with a view to conciliating parents in the Six Counties. The Border was set up in 1925 and so the clause does not appear in the 1926 programme.

A survey of the present position reveals three points which merit iscussion. They are : the position of Irish in the schools ; the Primary chool Certificate Examination ; the Training of Teachers. A brief reatment of each of these points follows.

Irish in the Primary School—The policy of restoring Irish as a spoken nguage was, as we saw, entrusted to the schools. The means adopted o carry this policy into effect have had a mixed reception. In particular, ne rule that the work of the Infant classes was to be done exclusively nrough Irish—even though modified by the clause " where the teachers re sufficiently qualified "—has been strongly opposed. In 1941, the .N.T.O. published the Report of a Committee of Enquiry into the use of rish as a teaching medium to children whose home language is nglish. Though the Report is not above criticism there seems to be a onsiderable body of opinion among the teachers that the results of the olicy are in no way commensurable with the labour imposed on the eacher and the strain to which the children are alleged to be subjected.

On the other hand, the recent reports of the Department (based n information supplied by the inspectors) continue to praise in a special nanner the work done in the Infant classes. It is probably true to say hat the early years did show a good deal of confusion, too great a desire o progress rapidly (it seems to be true that some inspectors insisted on he use of Irish as a medium where the right conditions did not obtain), vith a consequent deterioration of teaching and learning. The proportion f teachers now who have not the full qualifications must be very small, nd there seems reason to believe that the Department's reports on the nfant classes do represent the fact, and are not just pious beliefs.

A repeated statement in these recent reports is not so satisfactory. t is that the fluency attained in the lower classes is not consolidated in he middle and upper classes. Too much weight is being placed on a vriting and reading knowledge of Irish at the expense of fluency of speech. t would not, I think, be unjust to say that the Department is itself respon- ible for some at least of this tendency. The fact is that apart from the isits of the Inspector there is no testing of this fluency. Teachers are, nfortunately, human. If an examination looms ahead which (among ther aims) is supposed to test the efficiency of the school's teaching then t is only natural to expect that the teacher will, to some extent at least, irect his teaching towards the requirements of that examination. Such n examination has in fact existed for some years now and it is a purely vritten test.

The Primary School Certificate Examination—This test was instituted n 1929 for pupils who had completed the 6th standard (the great majority eave after this standard). The purpose was to certify that the pupil had

successfully completed the normal primary course, that he was eligible for secondary education, and that the certificate might be a help to him in getting employment. At first the examination was not compulsory and this, coupled with the fact that it did not meet with an enthusiastic reception from the schools, led to very few schools entering for it. In 1936 only 10% of the total number of pupils eligible sat for it. After some time it was made compulsory, though without any sanctions, for all 6th standard pupils, and the number of obligatory subjects (formerly five for boys and six for girls) was reduced to three—Irish, English and Arithmetic.

It has never been an institution that enjoyed a great deal of popularity. The I.N.T.O. has been opposed to it from the start, mainly because of its cramping effect on what, for so many pupils, is their last year in school. The test is in three subjects only, but there are six (for girls, seven) compulsory subjects in the 6th standard. It is not difficult to imagine the possible fate of the other three or four. This is all the more deplorable when it is realised that the subjects thus exposed to the danger of summary treatment are History, Geography and Music—subjects which of their nature could so increase the primary school child's exiguous meed of culture.

In April, 1950, the then Minister of Education set up a Council of Education to advise the Minister " upon such matters relating to educational theory and practice as they think fit, and upon any educational problems and questions referred to them by him." When the Council first met, the Minister proposed to them two topics for discussion: (1) The function of the primary school, and (2) the curriculum to be pursued in the primary school from the infant age up to 12 years of age. It is to be hoped that the question of this examination will receive a thorough review in the course of these discussions.

The Training of Teachers—The new Preparatory Colleges have led to a much higher intellectual standard in candidates for Training Colleges. These candidates, too, have high qualifications in Irish which is both medium of instruction and house language in the Colleges. Still, the training course as a whole might be improved. Two points especially are worthy of consideration. In the first place, these future teachers lead too segregated a life. From the age of 14 they spend six or seven years in boarding establishments where their only companions are those who are destined for the same vocation in life as themselves. They have little opportunity of meeting people of their own age who may have different views and opinions from them. They are denied the indefinable but none the less very real and solid rounding of character and widening of horizon and tolerance of another man's sentiments that come from debate and discussion *de omni re scibili*. This is particulary so during their years in the Training Colleges when their contemporaries are enjoying—or at

st have the opportunity of enjoying—these intellectual diversions in iversity life.

Secondly, it is said that their training is both too narrow and too hed. This latter seems to be true in the Training Colleges where in o years the students cover a course which is a continuation of the sub-ts they studied in the Preparatory Colleges and in addition are expected master the professional study of education. The course in both types Colleges seems to be largely utilitarian, that the student should know se subjects he is likely to teach, and how to teach them. " A course instruction in Latin is offered " (1935-36 Report), but no continental guage is offered.

Both of these objections would seem to find their solution in a proposal t has been made time and again in this country and in England, namely, t *all* teachers—primary, secondary and vocational—should attend a ee years' University course before training. As long ago as 1902, Dr. rkie suggested this course, it was strongly recommended in the 1921 nference and the Conference of 1926, and has lately been advocated in in " A Plan for Education," published by the I.N.T.O. in 1947. ssibly the most enlightened discussion of both sides of the problem is be found in Bruce Truscot's *Redbrick and These Vital Days* (1945) ere he comments on the McNair Report on Teacher Training.

One last point must be made in this section. When a child of 14 rs leaves a primary school it has at the very least a good passive know-ge of Irish. That is, it may not have a high degree of fluency but it some, and it has, in addition, the power of understanding spoken Irish d a limited reading knowledge of it. Now, apart from the small pro-tion (between one-third and one-fourth) who proceed to day voca-nal classes, there is no inducement held out to such children to keep up, ch less improve, their knowledge. The result is that in a very short e their store of Irish, acquired at the cost of so much effort, has virtually appeared. This is not the place to propose a remedy for such a wasteful dition. The facts are there and unless we face them and concern our-ves about finding a solution, all our toil will have been in vain. The at danger, as I see it, is that the Irish movement is tending to be a hite-collar " one, that it has very little interest for that proportion of people who get no further schooling beyond the primary school. And t proportion is almost three-quarters of the population.

II

Secondary Education

Under British Rule—Strange as is the constitutional position of the nary school in Ireland, when we come to the secondary school, the ition is even more anomalous. With the exception of the Preparatory

Colleges, every secondary school in the country is privately owned. The State neither founds such schools nor finances the building of them. It does not appoint the staff though it does contribute to their salary. The reasons for this position are to be found in the history of such schools in the 19th century.

With the partial relaxations in 1782 of the disabilities attached to Catholic schools, a number of classical schools, founded in the main by the clergy, began to appear. The number increased until by 1870 there were 47 of them. These were private schools, built and maintained by private effort. The purpose of the Intermediate Education Act of 1878 was to give them a measure of state support. The method of giving financial assistance was by a system of public examinations. On the results of these, and proportioned to the measure of a school's success, a grant of money was given to the school. This form of the "Results' Fees" system, which we have already seen in the primary schools, remained substantially in existence up to 1924. Additional grants, of a not very large amount, were made from time to time, chiefly in the form of monies to the manager of a school which he was to distribute to the teachers in proportion to the salaries paid to them by the school.

In fact the lay teachers were as a rule paid a poor salary in these schools. But that was only one of their misfortunes. For a long time they had no organization to uphold their case, no special qualifications were required of them by the Board and, worst of all, they had no surety of tenure. Towards the end of the British regime some steps were taken to improve their position. In 1914, a Register of Intermediate School Teachers was established and a Council formed to frame regulations for registration. The regulations of this Council came into effect in 1918. In 1926, the Council was reconstituted and the regulations now in force came into effect in that year. To depart for a moment from the historical order of the present account, the more important of these regulations are: (1) in each school a minimum and a maximum number of registered teachers who are paid an increment was laid down; (2) certain academic qualifications were demanded of such teachers; (3) a test of proficiency in oral Irish must be passed. Such teachers must be paid a minimum basic salary by the school and must have a contract of employment. In addition, the State pays an incremental salary to them which varies according to the qualifications of the teacher and reaches its maximum after about 19 years of service. At present the maximum increment for a married man with an Honours degree is £510. A further grant, maximum £36, is paid to those who teach through Irish. Thus, since the new regulations have come into force the position has improved considerably, notably in standing and conditions of service. There is room indeed for further improvement, in the matter of salary especially, which compares unfavourably with the corresponding rates in Britain and Northern Ireland.

To return to the pre-Treaty type of school. The Board was purely an amining body. Theoretically it did not interfere with the running of e school. The bulk of its regulations concern themselves with the bject of examinations. In fact, however, by its Results system and by e curriculum it set for the examinations it had an enormous influence the school—an influence which was by no means altogether beneficial. he financial importance to the school of the yearly examinations tended evitably to outweigh other considerations. Set texts were prescribed all language courses, and the year's work resolved itself into getting up ese texts thoroughly. For many years the marking was weighted very avily in favour of three subjects : the Language, Literature and History Greece, Rome, and Great Britain and Ireland. Celtic Language and iterature (note that there was no mention of History here), was one of e " other " subjects, and it was introduced into the curriculum only the result of an amendment to the Act of 1878. Gradually the dis-oportion was lessened and " Modern " subjects came to be of equal anding with the three " aristocrats." But it was not until 1908 that ish became a main subject. Here it may be noted that while history came a distinct subject, Irish history was given very little prominence.

All in all it was a bad system, intellectually and morally. Intellectually, cause of the premium it put on cramming and because it left no room r those activities commonly called cultural. Pearse quotes the remark a teacher : " Culture is all very well, but if you don't stick to your ogramme your boys won't pass." It was a bad system morally because its neglect, to say the least, of the natural virtues of patriotism and a oper pride in one's country.

The Change—In 1923, the existing Board was dissolved, and in 1924 functions passed to the Minister. Already in 1921 a Commission on condary Education had been set up and its recommendations formed e basis of the Act of 1924 which set up in broad outline (with one very portant modification) the system as we have it to-day. Apart from the teration in the status of teachers which we have already discussed, the ajor changes may be summarised under three heads : the recognised hool ; the curriculum ; Irish in the schools.

The Recognised School—Under the previous regime the Board paid tle or no attention to the school as such. Now, before a school could ke advantage of the benefits of the new system or before it could present pupils for the Department's examinations a number of conditions had be fulfilled. The school buildings and the teaching staff had to satisfy rtain conditions of suitability. A minimum number of subjects from e Department's list were to be taught. The school was to be open to spection and there was to be a minimum number of pupils in it. These

conditions were reasonable in their demands, and they ensured that in those schools recognised by the Department there would be a certain level of accommodation and, more particularly, of good teaching.

Under this heading we may include one of the most radical changes brought in by the new order. The vicious system of payment by results was abolished, and in its place the Capitation Grant was introduced. This Grant was paid irrespective of all examination results. So much per head was given to the school for each recognised pupil on its rolls. Such a pupil was one between the ages of 12 and 20 who had attended on a certain number of school days and who had passed an entrance examination. The aim of this test purported to be to test the intelligence of the pupil and his ability to profit from a secondary education. The standard was that of the Primary Certificate, which was accepted as " matriculation " for the secondary school. The papers were set and corrected by the individual school, but the papers and answer-books are subject to scrutiny by the Department.

The Curriculum—Here also big changes were introduced. The yearly examination was done away with and two courses, a Junior and a Senior one, were put in its place. The aim of the Junior Course was to provide a well-balanced course of general education to such pupils as might leave at the age of 16 years, and to be a preparation for those who intended to enter on more advanced courses. Six subjects were obligatory, of which four were named (among them Irish, but not English), and a choice was given in the other two. While the content of each subject was prescribed, great latitude was given in the choice of text-books. In languages no texts were named. This was an entirely laudable attempt to avoid the faults of the old system. The normal length of this course was four years. An examination—the Intermediate Certificate Examination—was available, but not compulsory at the end of the course as a test of attainment.

The Senior Course lasted two years. A certain amount of specialization was allowed in this course in which a pupil had to take five subjects, only Irish being compulsory. Here also no fixed texts were assigned. The Leaving Certificate Examination was available as a test of this course, and a pass in a subject was accepted as an exemption in the University Matriculation.

I have said that there has been one major modification in the provisions of the Act. Set texts began to re-appear in 1939, and by 1942 there were set texts in all language subjects. It seems likely that two causes operated to bring this about. The first was the combination of the " open " course with a uniform external examination. The difficulties of preparing a class, particularly a pass class, for such an examination will be very vivid still in the memories of teachers. The difficulties were

ggravated by the altogether undue weight given and still being to the esults of these examinations. It was partly a tradition from the old ystem, but the Department also was not blameless. Though it professed ot to overstress the importance of the tests, it published the results with ne name of each school at the head of its respective batch of numbers. 'he results of such a practice may be easily imagined. The practice has nce been abandoned but the damage was done. The second cause was so a matter of tradition. Teaching methods which for over forty years ad been based on set texts could not be changed overnight. It is probable nat some schools and teachers did not give the new plan too whole-hearted sympathy from the beginning. But it seems that the change was too adical, that better results might have been achieved by a more gradual olition of the set texts. More enlightened teachers are feeling a reaction gainst the set texts, and their opinion seems to be that the present method ight be kept for pass pupils with an open course for pupils of honours andard.

Irish in the Schools—We have already seen that Irish is obligatory in oth Junior and Senior courses. As in the primary schools so also here, ne task of reviving Irish was made one of the chief aims of the school. arious means were taken to secure this end. Registered teachers, as we ave seen, had to be proficient in oral Irish. Special grants have recently een given for distribution to those schools in which the standard is high. 'he marks assigned to Irish in the examinations are higher than those of ny other subject except the combined three mathematical subjects.

However, the chief means has been the policy of the Department wards those schools which use Irish as the general medium of instruc- on. The Capitation Grant may be increased by 25% of its original nount, and bonus marks on a sliding scale are awarded to pupils who nswer certain papers through Irish.

The question of these "A" schools is much debated. The standard the teaching given in them has been called into question ; the ultimate ntribution they make towards the restoration of the spoken language tside the school premises is sometimes challenged, and there seems to at least some evidence that a few of them do not in fact fulfil all the nditions which would entitle them to the grants. One of the chief fficulties has been the want of suitable text-books in Irish. The Depart- ent has sponsored the supply of such books but their number is still not fficient. One thing is certain, the pupils in these schools do attain a ry high degree of ease and competency in speaking Irish. About one arter of the total number of schools belonged to this category in 1948-49, ile in another quarter a certain amount of the instruction was given rough Irish.

The Present Position—We may discuss this under three heads: selection for secondary education; the curriculum; the position of Irish.

Selection for Secondary Education—Since 1924 there has been a big increase both in the number of schools and of pupils. The proportionate increase in the number of boys is 75%, while that of girls is 150%. With the exception of a small number of scholarship holders (about 600 scholarships of differing amounts are awarded by various Bodies annually), and of about 4,500 children, mostly girls, who attend what are familiarly called "Secondary Tops," the rest are all fee-paying. (Secondary Tops are departments in primary schools which give a recognised course of secondary education. This education is free). The wide and very complicated question of "free education for all" cannot be discussed here. But something must be said of the means taken to ensure an aptitude on the part of prospective pupils to profit from a secondary course, and in particular from the type of secondary education common in this country, the Department's curriculum notwithstanding.

The entrance test is purely one of attainment. No attempt is made, officially that is, to assess the pupil's aptitudes. And even in the attainment test the standard is low. Two results follow. A year often passes before the teachers can say that a pupil is an honours or pass student, that he is slow but solid, or slow and stupid, or quick but superficial, or quick and intelligent, that he has special aptitudes for languages or mathematics or science or manual crafts. Secondly, as a result of the low entrance standard, there is what may be euphemistically termed a great deal of "dead wood" in our schools, pupils who just should not be in that particular type of school at all. Something can be done for such pupils in the larger schools of over 200 pupils where different "streams" may be organised. But in 1947-48 out of 404 schools there were 354 with less than 200 pupils and 242 with less than 100.

Any suggestion that the schools should be of differing types (on the lines, say, of Classical, Technical or Modern), comes up against the dominating position of the Matriculation as laid down by the National University. As long as it demands for most students Irish, English, Latin and Mathematics, these will have to form the core of the curriculum in all schools. This fact is important for an understanding of the position outlined in the next section.

The Curriculum—According to the programme, two languages, Irish and another language, must be included in the Junior Course. Irish is the only language prescribed for the Senior Course. Already the introduction of a second language had automatically raised the required standard of intelligence. It is a well-attested finding of educational psychology that more than average intelligence is needed to study another language in

ddition to the vernacular with profit. But the actual picture of the urriculum in the Irish school goes well beyond this. The facts may be llustrated by a table. The figures are those of the 1947-48 examinations.

	Total examined	Irish	English	Latin	French
Boys ..	23,779	23,717	23,553	22,702	4,998
Girls ..	20,001	19,992	19,862	10,423	17,148

Nearly every boy studies three languages and some take four. Nearly very girl studies three languages and more girls than boys take four. This insistence on language study, coupled with the low entrance standard, presents a picture which is all wrong. The percentage of passes in the examination is high, it is true. All this proves is that the standard in the examinations is too low, and that the best teacher is the most efficient "crammer," the most successful "spotter" of likely questions. But what of education? What, to be more precise, of a true esteem of literature and a desire to continue to read it after school?

Let us take one instance. The position of Latin teaching in our schools is far from satisfactory. Virtually every boy studies it, and the majority are kept at it for at least three or four years. What have they after all this study? The power to translate very moderately a piece of unseen, to write notes on not very important points of grammar, to translate a piece of English into not very Ciceronian Latin. I am speaking of the great majority, not of the few who would be good Latin students under any system of teaching.

I cannot develop this point, crucial as it is, nor suggest remedies. I simply state facts that are well known to any Latin teacher, the examination results notwithstanding. There are other points that should be discussed here, the almost total lack, apart from some literary appreciation, of a development of the aesthetic sense, especially in boys' schools: the neglect of music, for example, of art, of drawing (except as a "sure thing" for pupils who are weak in the usual subjects). The position of mathematics also demands treatment. But for reasons only too obvious already to the patient reader they must be omitted. The question of Irish in the school merits some mention however.

Irish in the Schools—The ultimate aim of the Department's action in the schools with regard to Irish is to ensure that children will leave the schools able, and presumably willing, to speak Irish. All other secondary aims and methods should be geared and directed towards this primary

purpose. The success of the policy, now in existence for nearly thirty years—that is, five school generations—must be judged by the success or failure of that aim.

What then is the result so far? It will be conceded at once that many of the secondary aims have been attained. The majority of pupils can speak Irish after a fashion. They have read a fair share of prose and poetry and have written an amount of " essays " of, I suppose, the usual standard in such exercises. In many schools, the " A " schools especially, these powers are on quite a high level. But the test is, can they and, much more, will they speak Irish when they leave the school premises? One can speak with certainty only of one's own experience. Now I may have been unfortunate or inattentive or just plain deaf, but I have never heard two Dublin children, either from a primary or a secondary school, speaking Irish at play or when walking together. The general impression one gets is that they do not.

What then is wrong? Firstly, it looks as if the programmes and examinations are nullifying the Department's own policy. This is definitely so in the Honours Senior Course. Teachers of this course will agree that it takes them all their time to cover the course, that there is little or no opportunity for oral work to consolidate the work of the previous years. In theory, at any rate, a student who had very little fluency in the language could get honours on this course, for there is no oral test. The Department have stated that it is virtually impossible to arrange such a test. This does seem to be the case. However, while this particular point is important, there is a much more vital reason for the failure to carry Irish over outside the school.

For such a carry-over a compelling set of motives is needed. If a pupil loves and esteems the language highly, there is a strong presumption that he will continue to speak it. Our present teaching methods, coupled with the programme, do very little to instil these motives. The inherent difficulty of Irish, the necessity to drive all but the clever pupil, the slow rate of progress, the cramming methods not uncommon, the fact that success or failure depends on this one subject, all these combine to associate with Irish in the pupil's mind feelings of fear, dislike and boredom.

Further, the content of the programme of the Honours Senior Course (I select this because it is the course of the pupil's last year at school) does very little to raise the pupil's esteem for the language.[2] This is so to a marked degree in the case of the clever pupils. While they are reading first-class literature in English, Greek and Latin, they are given what purports to be first-class literature in Irish. Why can we not be honest and admit that there is, as yet anyway, very little real literature in modern

[2]Here again, the National University must shoulder at least part of the blame. To be acceptable for the purposes of Matriculation the programme must be sanctioned by the University which, in practice, has a large part in deciding the texts to be studied.

sh? One example must suffice. Some years ago I was reading with Honours Leaving Certificate class the Fenian tale *Eachtra Lomnochtáin,* ather cumbrous conflation of well-known folk and fairy tales. One day en we had read a particularly childish incident I was asked: "Father, his regarded as Irish literature?" Other boys in the class then began compare the style and quality of the text with what they were reading other languages. I was glad to get the opportunity of telling them what hought, and a lively discussion followed—all in Irish.

What would I suggest? Only the barest outlines of a plan which will obably arouse either horror or tolerant amusement in certain quarters. rap all written examinations in Irish. Put it outside the examination stem altogether. Insist, if you like, on a minimum standard of oral sh to be tested by the inspector. Then use every method and aid to ake the Irish hour stand for the one bright spot in the day. Teach mmar by all means but cut it to the bare bones. Make it serve as a ndmaid to fluency, not as the bugbear of teacher and pupil. Bring in ual aids, gramaphones, wireless, films. Have small class plays, informal bates, mock trials, anything that helps them to talk and to enjoy the k and to forget their self-consciousness. Get rid of the compulsion threats and punishments and failure and bring in the compulsion of e and esteem.

All this is unsound? impractical? mad? Possibly. But, psychoically, it has a better chance of succeeding than the present system has. demands too much of the teacher? Nothing is more exacting than the esent daily grind that gives so little return. It is too much like "soft dagogy," it does not give the pupils that incomparable moral training t comes from steady effort? In view of the results that have to date crued from our present system of "steady effort," the only effective mment I might make on that last criticism would hardly be printed by s learned journal. We may have evolved Pearse's "order out of chaos," would need very careful search to detect in our present methods of ching Irish anything of his "spirit of life."

III

Vocational Education

The changes which the new State made in primary and secondary ucation were in the main a remodelling of the existing systems. Howr, in the scheme of Vocational Education introduced in 1930, we may that a completely new system was evolved. There had been a measure technical education under the British regime, but the new plan brought h it such a wide extension of the existing facilities, introduced completely

new branches and recast the organisation so fundamentally that it may be regarded as a child of the new State—and, it may be added, a child of which its father may well be proud.

Under British Rule—Since about the middle of the 18th century isolated schemes had been set up to give a training in Arts and Crafts. The founders were either private persons or learned Societies or corporate Bodies. Foremost in time as well as in achievement was the Royal Dublin Society which founded the Metropolitan School of Art in Dublin in 1748 as " a little academy or school for drawing and painting." In 1887, the City of Dublin Technical Schools were started in Kevin Street. These schools were supported by voluntary help and by a grant from the Dublin Corporation.

The first step in establishing a system of technical training was the passing in 1889 of the Technical Instruction Act. This empowered the local authority to draw up schemes of instruction, to strike a rate in aid, and to appoint a committee to take charge. A government grant was also given. In the event the total money available was altogether inadequate, and what advance there was was confined to the urban areas.

In 1895, an unofficial committee, convened by Horace Plunkett, met to enquire into reform in Irish agriculture and industry. Chief among its recommendations was that a scheme of practical education in these branches should be set up. The result was the Agricultural and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act of 1899, which came into force in 1900 with the setting up in Dublin of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. This Department remained in control of technical education until 1924 when its functions were taken over by the Minister of Education.

The main improvements under the Act were : (1) the local committees were now statutory bodies. But they were still subject to the local Council, and where the scheme was not organised by the Council no grant could be given by the Department ; (2) the local rate was raised from 1d. to 2d. in the £ ; (3) increased grants were given by the Department ; (4) permanent schools were set up in urban areas, and temporary ones, staffed by itinerant teachers, in the country ; (5) to provide qualified teachers, a training school for teachers of Domestic Economy was founded in Kilmacud, Co. Dublin, and courses of instruction were organised in the College of Science and the School of Art.

The New Scheme—In 1926, a Commission was appointed by the Minister to enquire into and advise upon the system of technical education in Saorstát Eireann in relation to the requirements of Trade and Industry. The recommendations of the Commission were embodied in the Vocational Education Act of 1930. The Act has remained virtually unchanged since that date. As it is the charter of the system of vocational education

Ireland we will get a comprehensive, though necessarily sketchy, picture the present position by examining its principal enactments. These ay be considered under five main heads : the Local Committees ; Con- uation Education ; Apprenticeship Training ; Adult Education ; the achers.

The Local Committee—The Committee is as before elected by the al authority, but, once elected, it is independent and is responsible only the Minister. Formerly chosen only from the local authority, its embers are now representative of all classes who have an interest in the ucation given. It is a corporate body, charged with the complete ministration of vocational education in its area. It has powers to build hools, determine the type of education to be given, hire teachers, borrow oney and demand that the local authority strike the statutory rate. This te has now been greatly increased. In addition the State pays a grant cording to the amount of the local rate on a basis of from £1 to £4 cording to the area for every £1 of local rate.

Schools under these Committees are in fact the only schools in Ireland hich may be called public. They are owned, administered and financed the Committee, and the sense of responsibility induced by this close d personal tie is one of the causes of the satisfactory condition both of e school buildings and of the teaching given in them. The Committee rresponds closely to the Local Education Authority in Britain, but that uthority is much more independent of the Minister of Education than is Irish counterpart. " Subject to the approval of the Minister " is a rase that occurs very often in the sections of the Act dealing with the mmittees.

Continuation Education—This type of education is quite new. rmerly a child who left school at the age of 14 years or even younger d often to face a period of idleness and aimlessness before being em- oyed. Continuation education, in the form of whole-time day courses, s as its aim " to continue and supplement the education provided in mentary schools and includes general and practical training in prepar- on for employment in trades, manufactures, agriculture, commerce, d other industrial pursuits, and also general and practical training for e improvement of young persons in the early stages of such employ- nt." We are here concerned with the first part of this definition as far the word " pursuits." We shall consider the second part in the next tion.

The course is normally a two-year one intended to cover the years -16. The year is one of about 38 weeks with an average week of 27 urs. In 1948-49 there were 157 schools with an enrolment of 15,570. he exact figures of children leaving the primary school each year are not

available, but it seems that from 45,000 to 50,000 would be an approximate figure). There are four courses available : (1) Junior Technical Course (for boys, preparatory to skilled manual work) ; (2) Junior Rural Course (for boys in farming districts) ; (3) Junior Domestic Course (for girls) ; (4) Junior Commercial Courses (normally taken by girls only, preparatory to positions as typists, etc.). The type of work done will be best understood by giving the conspectus for one of the courses. The following is the normal programme for the Junior Technical Course (the figures in brackets are the number of hours per week devoted to the subject) : Woodwork (5) ; Metalwork (5) ; Mechanical Drawing (2) ; Mathematics (4) ; Experimental Science (3) ; Irish, English, Geography (7) ; Religious Instruction (1) ; Physical Training (1).

A pupil who completes the two years may sit an examination for the Day Vocational Certificate. In this only the purely technical subjects are obligatory. The others (Irish, Mathematics, etc.), are optional. A pass must be obtained in all obligatory subjects (and the standard is quite high), and a pass in oral Irish. These certificates are widely accepted as evidence of qualification for certain types of employment, e.g., apprenticeship in the Motor Engineering trade is confined to boys who have a certificate in the Junior Technical Course. In 1949, 2,470 pupils sat for these examinations and 1,480 certificates were awarded. The small number of pupils who sat compared with the 15,570 on the rolls is to be explained by the fact that growing numbers of employers are turning to these schools when they need staff. It is not unknown for a whole second year class to disappear in the course of the year. This is unfortunate in one way, but it is an indication that good work is being done in the schools, that employers have found that vocational school pupils make competent workers.

The Minister has powers to make this education compulsory in a particular area for children between 14 and 16 years who are attending no school. This has been done in the three Boroughs of Cork, Limerick and Waterford. There the pupils—whether they are at work or not—have to attend a course of 180 hours in the year. The programme approximates to that of Continuation courses. In Cork there were in 1950 over 1,000 such pupils enrolled.

Apprenticeship Training—Up to the Act of 1930 it may be said that apprenticeship training was non-existent. No entry qualifications were demanded except that of parenthood, i.e., the " Closed Shop " practice. Even when taken on as apprentice a boy had no guarantee that he would be taught his trade well. With the 1930 Act, however, and particularly since 1935 when a new scheme of trade examinations was set up by the Department, there has been a steady expansion of systematic training and many schemes have been prepared by Vocational Education Committees in conjunction with particular industries and trades. These schemes

are of three kinds : (1) permanent pre-employment training schemes in many branches. These are confined to schools in Cork and Dublin, and involve full-time attendance (about 30 hours a week) for varying lengths of time ; (2) temporary pre-employment schemes which are in the nature of short intensive courses in connection with new industries which required large numbers of operatives at short notice. These are also full-time courses and are usually held at the locale of the projected industry ; (3) permanent training schemes under which apprentices are released within employers' time to attend technical schools. There are about 20 courses of this type and the majority of them are in Dublin. The details are arranged between the Committee and representatives of each trade. In only two trades is the attendance of apprentices compulsory by law. In all the other courses employers who release their apprentices do so voluntarily.

The scheme in connection with the Dublin Printing Trade may serve as an example. Apprenticeship lasts for seven years, during the first two years of which apprentices attend Bolton Street Technical School for half of each working day. During these years about half the instruction is in trade work and the remainder is given to Irish, English, and Drawing or Mechanism. At the end of this period they sit for the Junior Trade Test. For the remaining years they attend evening classes. After two more years they take the Senior Trade Test and then specialise.

Adult Education—This is virtually the only type of technical education which was provided before the Act. Any changes that have been made are in the line of extending the range of subjects available, and of improved accommodation and teaching. The classes are usually evening ones and are attended by two types of pupil : those in certain trades who wish to improve their knowledge of that trade, and those who seek instruction for personal reasons not necessarily connected with their trade. In 1948-49 the total of students attending such courses either in permanent centres or in temporary ones was about 36,000.

It should be mentioned here that the pupils who attend these various types of vocational education pay tuition fees. However, these are not excessive. The highest fee for a full-time day course is £2 and for an evening course, 10s. Exceptions to the rule of paying fees are those pupils, a very small number, who hold scholarships, those who attend the compulsory course as in Cork, and many of the apprentices for whom the respective trade organisation pays the fee.

The Teaching Staff—The main developments here are the policy of requiring appropriate qualifications from the teacher of each subject, and the Department's Training Courses for the supply of such teachers. The qualifications are either a University degree, or a Diploma of Art

or of Domestic Economy, or one of the various certificates issued by the Department at the conclusion of its Training Courses. This insistence on qualified teachers has improved considerably the quality of the teaching and the standing of the schools.

A final point may be made in connection with the permanent rural school. Due mainly to the excellent quality of the teachers, these schools are in process of becoming the centres of cultural activities in the area. The work of the Irish classes deserves special mention. These are run on pleasant and " unacademic " lines, for besides formal language classes they appear as glee clubs, dancing classes and social evenings, and the members of the class, teachers and pupils, take a prominent part in the local *feis*.

One criticism is heard often enough in connection with the Junior Commercial Courses. It is said that, in the urban areas outside the Boroughs especially, too many girls attend these courses as compared with the number who attend the Domestic Science Course. (In 1949, the number of entrants for the certificate in Domestic Science was 295, while the number in the Commercial Courses was 802). It is said that such pupils then take up positions which are not very well paid and that the result, especially if they do not live at home, is serious ill-health. But the schools are hardly to be blamed for affording these girls an opportunity to improve, at least in theory, their position. The remedy lies rather in the line of investigating the conditions of work they take up. I have heard of a reputable Catholic professional man in a country town who, seven or eight years ago, paid a full-time typist the sum of fifteen shillings a week. The Vocational Education Committee can hardly be blamed for such things.

SEÁN Ó CATHÁIN

THIRTY YEARS OF IRISH LETTERS

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F, in this assessment, the emphasis falls on the last twenty rather than the previous ten years, I must be forgiven. The first of my student ars fell in the first years of the thirties : I and my contemporaries came consciousness of our time then. Before that it was all one to us what was ppening and what had happened in the days of the Plantagenets or of ian Boru. It was mysterious, outside the scope of any powers or forces own to us, the world, as Wordsworth said, being for the young " nothing t a wild field where they were sown." We heard our elders talk, and it s beyond our comprehension, so we tossed our heads, and took a canter und the wild field once more.

Until, as I said, in the first years of the thirties we found ourselves idents, and started to grow up ; and then gradually it began to dawn on that the wild field was not so wild after all, but had been planned and signed, hedged and ditched and generally ordered according to the desires d efforts of a previous generation. We began to see for instance why at ne date in our childhood we had all had to set to and learn Irish ; dimly was borne in on us why we had been taught Latin rather than Hebrew. ie forests and thickets behind us were clearing. We were entering on the l age of reason.

And what we saw we found not altogether pleasing. A shrunken and ntracted world anyway faces the young at this period, when imagination gs and they attempt to grapple with what is called reality. But for us ecially it seemed that all effort and glory had been used up by our hers. We were, as a wit of the time said, the generation of the " here- ary martyrs." We had inherited heroism and glory, not won it : our nts had smuggled ammunition for it ; our elder cousins had carried ssages and dispatches, while we had still lain in the garden reading *easure Island* or *Alice-in-Wonderland*.

We were depressed ; for what, come to think of it, we argued, was re left for any of us to do ? At the same time we were disillusioned, after all, of what had been done had the fruits been so wonderful ? addition we were burdened with an irksome and weary sense of ponsibility towards the world in general. It was the fashion, I remember, read books, like Spenglers' *Decline of the West*, filled with apocalyptic rnings ; we were consequently invaded by anxiety and tenderness the world beyond our island home, which, it seemed, was doomed to minent disaster, perhaps complete dissolution.

We were in search of a cause of our own, something on which to centre the dissatisfaction and the idealism of youth. Some of us found what seemed to answer. I remember two such of my contemporaries, both of whom lightly and carelessly threw their lives into the balance in return, Charles Donnelly fighting for the Republicans in Spain, Cora Hughes fighting the entrenched powers of the young and arrogant state at home, resisting what she considered unjust evictions at the very time, when if she had done the usual thing, the expected thing, she should have been sitting for her examinations. Both of them lie now for many years where no cause can trouble them further, where wild indignation is forever stilled. Their lives were a proof that in the generation of the hereditary martyrs the leaven was yet working, and that it had itself to throw off some outcrop of heroic mould.

Most of us did as the negligible do in any circumstances. We complained. We complained that the generation which had freed Ireland had not also thrown up a race of literary giants. We said, "Look at the Russians: why have we not a writer like Dostoievsky?" We said "In France there is Balzac, there is Flaubert: where are the equivalents here?" We hardly mentioned the hereditary foe; for in that British past the great writers were strewn as thick as stars in a frosty sky. The kind of native literature that sang of the sorrows of Ireland bored us; we inclined to label it, with Elton, "high, pathetic half-expression."

Young people still complain. I have heard them, young men making inaugural addresses to their societies, and complaining that we have not got the great novelist we should all desire, the great literature we should all welcome. And now, I hardly know what they still evidently want and we too once wanted. I blush to think of our arrogant ignorance, or disregard, of the great figures that the belligerent generation had produced, how we tossed lightly aside, in our demand for a Dostoievsky, the whole Abbey school, the prime mover of which had written—"our movement is a return to the people, like the Russian movement of the seventies, and the play should tell them either of their own life, or of that life of poetry where every man can see his own image, because there alone does human nature escape from arbitrary conditions."

There, indeed, in the movement inaugurated by the poet whose whole life was a search for the reality that lies beyond the arbitrary appearances of human life, had we got greatness, as is now, I think, beginning to grow evident to ourselves, as it has been evident for some time to outsiders. The Abbey dramatic movement was conceived as a return to the people and a return to poetry. It was to be presented in some "high astounding" style; for what, thought Yeats, was the good of going to a play, if you were to hear from the stage the same language people used at home, when they spoke about the rates? It was intended to give classic expression to the essential and eternally recurring experience of the human heart.

Poetry therefore in these days found its main utterance through drama. We all know that it has not continued like that. We all also know that our greatest living poet, the one of wiliest and most intricate art, who has not chosen to assume the mantle of Elijah, in the sense that he prefers to the thunderbolt of the Prophet the shy and learned barb of the scholar, has yet deliberately decided to carry on the Abbey tradition in one sphere. Mr. Austin Clarke founded some years ago the Abbey School of Lyric Drama with players trained, also in the Yeats' tradition, to speak verse. By these Dublin has been given two or three times a year verse plays, new and old. Mr. Clarke's own plays have proved the staple of the new. Mr. Clarke had been one of the people we discovered in these early years of the thirties, coming on him as one came on Keats, realising nothing of the deliberate and conscious aims he pursued in his craft, just drinking in the beauty, at once exquisite and austere, of such things as the *Vengeance of Fionn*. In these later days he continues to delight us by his wit and malice, the compression and accomplishment of his verse. He has obviously been working at one of the technical problems that must beset all who would write verse drama, the effecting a compromise between the demands of metre and the inflections of living speech. The Elizabethans found in blank verse one such compromise. Mr. Eliot has lately been discussing his difficulties on this head : he tells us that in *The Cocktail Party* he found, he thought, a solution—by writing a verse so unemphatic that nobody listening need be conscious that it is verse. Mr. Clarke is as recondite as Mr. Eliot, but much more of a poet—not for him a solution so self-sacrificial. Indeed, he seems to have been working to the very opposite end ; for in the last of his plays which I saw, *The Plot Succeeds*, he who has distrusted rhyme as too crude and artificial in its effect and had played instead, after Gaelic models, on the possibilities of assonance, now turns and uses it to point the wit and sparkle of his lines. *The Plot Succeeds* seemed to me an immensely interesting play. In it a theme of profound implication—the problem of personality, its limitation or demarcation—is discussed under the guise of an old Irish shape-changing myth, and the working out is given complexity and variety. In the other plays that we heard on Sunday nights, such as *The Kiss*, or *Pierrot and Columbine*, Mr. Clarke enchanted us, but they seemed to be hovering on the edge of experience ; in *The Plot Succeeds*, we are at the centre again. It is, I imagine, a fairly accurate judgment to state that in the productions of the Abbey School of Lyric Drama we have had the most sustained and accomplished verse that these past years have produced.

Two things, however, seem to me to augur badly for the future. For the most part, and certainly for the best part, these plays have been comedy, and they have been addressed to a specialist, so to speak, Sunday audience. We are far indeed from the movement which was a return to the people, and from the kind of response to it that Yeats tells of in the incident of the

man from Killaloe at Lady Gregory's play who said, when Brian took Gormliath for wife : " It is a great pity that he didn't marry a quiet girl from his own district." And comedy, though it can in truth be a serious reflection of life, does not answer to the whole soul, does not resume the whole of man's experience, as tragedy can. We must accept the fact that poetic tragedy is not being written, or at least is not appearing today in Ireland.

But poetry of other kinds is. Indeed, to turn over the files of *The Dublin Magazine, The Bell* or the Saturday issues of *The Irish Times,* is to be confounded by the host of chiming voices that rise from the pages. It is to be convinced that every parish in Ireland contains its nest of singing birds, and moreover, that many people who have made a reputation in other fields, can, while they wait presumably for inspiration in their own province toss off a pretty lyric or epigram : " Fie, upon this quiet life : I want work," they think, perhaps ; or maybe there is still alive here the 19th century feeling that a gentleman and a scholar ought to be able to produce his volume of verse on occasion.

Up in the North too the minstrels have been piping and trilling, and a mere list of names of poets north and south is in itself an impressive display. There are veterans of their craft among them, and young hands fresh to the work : Seamus O'Sullivan, Austin Clarke, F. K. Higgins, Robert Farren, W. R. Rodgers, Patrick MacDonogh, Padraic Fallon, Patrick Kavanagh, Donagh MacDonagh, Lyle Donaghy, Denis Devlin, Valentine Iremonger, Robert Graecen, Rhoda Coghill, R. S. Thomas, R. N. Curry, Blanaid Salkeld, R. N. D. Wilson, Joseph Campbell, Brenda Chamberlain, Temple Lane, Peter Wells, Maurice Farley, Ethna MacCarthy, Henry Treece, John Hewett, Hugh Connell, George Hetherington, Pearse Hutchinson, and others known only to us as mysterious initials, Y.L., and L.M.M.

Now the general level of accomplishment is remarkably high. Verse comes easy to us, it seems ; too easy, one is sometimes inclined to feel. If we lisp in numbers, the trouble is that we may never do anything else but lisp ; and while the long tussle with technical difficulties, with the mere making of language malleable and obedient to our needs—such as Austin Clarke has always been engaged on—may threaten to dry up warmth and excitement, not to embark on the struggle is to risk running out on the sands of feeble and inept repetition. To become a great poet demands bitter, arduous and whole-time endeavour ; to write occasional verse asks no more than talent and chance effort. Sometimes it seems to me that there is not enough mark of effort on the writing of our young poets. They are too early accomplished.

But to consider so is to consider too curiously, perhaps, as if we were ever likely to have battalions of the great in any walk of life, as if we should not be delighted and proud of so broadcast a gift. Neither is it to be

wondered at that much of this writing is full of echoes and reminders of he English poets of the thirties ; of Gerard Manley Hopkins, of the Gaelic oets, of the French symbolists, of Yeats, of Landor even. Poets must, even more than ordinary people, be aware of their predecessors ; they nust learn of somebody, and if their masters' voices are heard in their ones, who is to blame them ?

Besides, there is much more than mere echo, and the names mentioned epresent a surprising range and variety of writing. We have rich and eavy meditation, ballads and songs of carousel, thistle-down gentle yrics, long swinging ranging free verse, rhapsodic flights, curt epigrams. f I choose now certain poets for mention, it is to be understood that I am eing quite arbitrary and individual in my choice. Patrick McDonogh vrites with heavy melancholy gravity ; he tries different forms ; he is killed, but not, one feels, lightly so. The woodnotes are native—he bserves and loves the sky and earth of his country—but they are not vild, they are deliberate, and they are recognisable as his. I remember our lovely poems published in *The Dublin Magazine* from time to time—*She Moved through the Fair ; The Widow of Drynam; O Tardy Spring* nd *Lothario's Song*. The last begins :—

> The owls are out about the trees,
> On silent wing or softly hooting,
> And love that swore to be at ease
> Begins his old free-booting,

nd it ends characteristically :—

> She brings eternity to love
> That dies before the rising lark

he sweet and easy movement traditional of the love song ending, not as ve might have expected, with ease, but with the teasing paradox of love ternal and love dying. The consciousness of struggle and defeat in life nd death at the end broods over Patrick McDonogh's poem :—

> Waste that outruns repair
> Destroys this body and will change in me
> Enormous longing to an old man's sigh
> I am the idle branch, my budless eye
> Blinder than cells whose immortality
> Was never pawned for love.
> But I must die !

In short, what one may say is that he has the tragic sense of life ; and e has technical skill. It is a combination of qualities that might result in a ajor work.

W. K. Rodgers brought out in 1941 a book of poems which now one perceives to be, perhaps, too strongly dyed in what he himself called " the running stream of contemporary verse, " so closely modelled after a prevalent fashion that suddenly like a garment it may be found no longer fit for present use, but which when it appeared we thought exciting and exhilarating with its urgent, tilted, hastening manner, its crammed almost stammering play on sound, its daring figures and metaphors. If about some of the pieces here, we may murmur like Dr. Johnson " ingenious, but are they worth the carriage," to others, such as *An Irish Lake, Stormy Day, Ireland, Snow,* we can return with, I think, always fresh delight. In *An Irish Lake* for instance, how in the first lines the effect of the hard and narrow sounds is suddenly softened and made to glow by the single colour word " pink " !

> There in the hard light
> Dark birds, pink-footed, dab and pick
> Among the addery roots and marrowy stones.

How loaded and impressive in the next stanza is the figure—night rounds on Europe now—which stresses the change of mood from tranquility to foreboding, " rounds-on-Europe " carrying not only the obvious sense of the revolving globe bringing its segment of the continent round to darkness, but also the implication of attack : " night " also, of course, bears a double meaning. To write like this is to write with skill and power.

With equal power and a purer manner writes the third poet that I choose for mention, Rhoda Coghill. She is a musician and has so far published, in 1948, only one slight volume. But in it are some poems where the writer, climbing easily over the difficulties in her way, with little technical versatility, flashes as it were to masterly expression. She writes especially well of moods of semi-consciousness, of illness and wakefulness. In the poem called *Introduction and Fanfare* we are given a description of the impact of sound on a delicately organised nervous system, and a transference of it into terms of the sense of sight which becomes itself a thing of visual beauty. The cockerel's song, she says,

> . . . " breaking savage flags, flaunting a torch
> That fires the universe with a plumy flame,
> Builds up pavilions of barbaric pride."

It seems to me that in writing like this, as in the poems called *Within my Dream, To his Ghost seen after Delirium, Summer in Sheephaven,* that incandescence in the mind of the reader occurs which it is the part of poetry, and poetry only, to promote. Rhoda Coghill is a musician, as I have said : she has another art, through which to interpret life : she may

ver, therefore, give us in words the great and ordered structure which uld be a vision of life as a whole. But that she is gifted in the manipuion of words she has already proved.

II.

There are others that one might with profit choose to write about—enis Devlin, for instance, or Valentine Iremonger, but in a short article e must of necessity be capricious. And I ought to hasten on to speak of ıer fields where we have been busy. In verse there has been great ivity, much promise, little supreme achievement. In a form of art that ı lend itself to poetic purposes, the short story, we have some acknowlged masters. Two of them, perhaps because their names chime nicely th each other, are always, like Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, mentioned le by side. This is confusing, because instead of being two halves of one gligible whole, they are two entirely different and considerable individuals. ank O'Connor's feeling for life is at once robust and delicate. He has an plosive Rabelaisian humour, a heart-easing mirth and the most lightgered pathos. Sometimes, we get more of one than the other, as for stance in the story called *The Long Road to Ummera*, a beautiful almost bearably poignant story about an old woman's determination to be buried th her own people. Sometimes the two are interwoven, as in the peerless ory called *In the Train*, where the ambiguous, mysterious, complex ture of experience is suggested, not only by the fusion of these two alities, but by the setting of the story revealed as essentially poetic, the in rocking and jolting across the dark plain of Ireland, the passengers oving restlessly from one compartment to another, the scene within lected palely in the blind window-panes :—" And while they talked the in dragged across a dark plain, the heart of Ireland, and in the moonless ght tiny cottage windows blew past like sparks from a fire, and a pale nulacrum of the lighted carriages leaped and frolicked over hedges and lds." With what extraordinary decision the quality of a face, or person suggested in—" one of the women laughed softly and turned a haggard ginal face within the cowl of her shawl ", or this, " Moll Mor scowled, : lower lip thrust out. She was a great flop of a woman, with a big ırse powerful face."

In the Train is a perfect short story : life is revealed in it as entirely ange, unpredictable, irrational : it has on one an effect of illumination, d it is as fine and tautly made as a sonnet.

From the best of his short stories, from the enchanting novel *The int and Mary Kate* which appeared in 1932, there emanates from the hor a quality of Chaucerian loving-kindness, a vast sympathy where y and humour are inextricably compounded.

In Seán Ó Faoláin the elements are more mixed than in O'Connor. He is nimbler, more versatile. He has gaiety rather than humour, nostalgia rather than enjoyment, gentleness rather than pity. He is thus airier and softer than O'Connor. He uses analysis as much as suggestion and presentation, he is more of a moralist. He is as technically skilled a short story writer as O'Connor, but the nature of their vision is different. One may see this easily by comparing two stories similar in theme in both, an account of a child's confession. These qualities have also resulted in his producing, as well as novels and short stories, forms of writing which are reconstruction as much as creation—biography, literary criticism and travel books. In *The Great O'Neill* (1942) we were given biography in the grand style, a mature, considered, superbly original interpretation of character and history. Were a man to have written only one such book, he might well rest content. It was preceded, however, by *King of the Beggars*, a life of Daniel O'Connell, *Midsummer Madness*, *A Purse of Coppers*, collection of short stories, and three novels, *Come Back to Erin*, *Bird Alone*, *A Nest of Simple Folk*, the last-named the first—a lovely, simple elegiac story, conveying in its name the influence of that Russian writer, Turgenev, whom obviously Mr. Ó Faoláin greatly admires. In 1947 we had another volume of short stories, *Theresa and other stories*.

In the forties there began to appear too another writer of short stories, one who had a particular interest for me ; for she had been a contemporary of these student days to which I refer to at the beginning of this article, and a friend. She it was who discovered for us that it is only one's contemporaries who ever listen to one, and who now began to address herself to contemporaries, and elders and betters alike. In two volumes, *Tales from Bective Bridge* and *The Long Ago*, Mary Lavin gave the world a glimpse within to a highly individual consciousness, half fantasy, half the starkest reality, the whole merging into a wild irrational, poetic unity. It is as if the magnifying glass of fantasy were turned on the plainest facts of ordinary existence which are then transmogrified into something strange and rare, or if one prefers it, as if a great flash light swept over a dark countryside, illuminating for brief seconds and rendering weirdly beautiful hedge and field and hollow. Mary Lavin sees in these cinematographic flashes : sometimes her glance lingers on the most minute detail and it grows into wild importance under her eyes. While it lasts, it is of extraordinary penetrative power ; but her vision is not steady : her sense of character is limited. When she turned from the short story to the novel, she failed to integrate the larger form. The texture of the actual writing remained as supple and sensitive as ever, but the structure of the whole is not coherent in *The House in Clewe Street*, not significant in *Mary O'Grady :* there are shifts from one plane of presentation to another : outside a narrow range character is unconvincing, even tawdry. This same elaboration of detail that can be illuminating, while the insight holds, can become tedious

xcrescence, when it leads to nothing beyond itself. Mary Lavin is not n intellectual writer, as we say; she has apparently the gift which is more eminine than masculine, that of being able to shake off the effects of ducation: and is reported to have murmured, when told that Professor)over Wilson was a member of the committee which awarded her The ames Tait Black Memorial Prize for her first book, "who is he?"—in spite f the fact that some years before we had all been madly reading *What Happens in Hamlet*. What interests her, and to that she brings enormous est, are the daily ordinary—extraordinary doings of man and beast. But to order the presentation of these into a persuasive structure the ntellect is necessary.

Intellect has never failed the writer whom by way of contrast I now hoose for discussion—Elizabeth Bowen. Miss Bowen is a novelist of the rst order, and there was never one less naive, more self-conscious, delibe- ate, and aware of what means lead to what ends. It is immensely interesting o watch her unfolding record of sustained accomplishment, never repeating tself, always passing on to fresh trial and effort. She is obviously braced nd exhilarated by the technical problems of writing, the architectural usiness of assembling parts into a beautiful coherent whole. All her tories, with the possible exception of *To the North*, where the denouement eems to me melodramatic and strained, are supremely well plotted, and hey never take the same road home. Her novels are layered presentations f life; they suggest, therefore, a great richness and variety in the material o be experienced, though Miss Bowen is not impartial towards all of that naterial; in fact she uses two main ways of presenting her characters: ome of them are on the level of penetration, and others only of observation. Where she penetrates she is unfailing in sympathy: where she observes s in the seaside part of *Death of the Heart*, the Kelway-family part of *The Heat of the Day*, she is often cruel. One is sometimes driven to wonder f there is not an element of snobbery in this: it is a fact that Miss Bowen ever satirises any character living at the top level of the society she repro- uces, only those who are definitely lower or middle class. Whatever the xplanation, it must be noted as a defect. On the other hand, she has haracters like Louie and Connie in *The Heat of the Day* who are as low s you like, and are yet understood with astonishing, enchanting insight nd tenderness.

Moreover, in spite of the blemish mentioned above, what Elizabeth Bowen's work as a whole suggests is sympathy and mystery. The world he seems to say is less simple than we like to imagine: all experience is mbiguous: it is not an easy matter to draw the frontier line between ood and evil: raiding, free-booting, goes on constantly. Thus Anna in *Death of the Heart* reads Portia's diary, "like a housemaid." Eddie would, I suppose, be called a cad in everyday language. Robert, in *The Heat of he Day* turns out to be a traitor. Her critics, when this last book of hers

appeared, complained of a certain blurred effect and a shadowiness in the character of Robert. I imagine myself that this was deliberate : treason was chosen precisely because of its shock to ordinary sensibilities. Just so, Miss Bowen seems to say, will you understand how, to take words of her own from the *Death of the Heart*, worse than sad human life is, how shady it is. The shadiness, the seediness of life, of course, has become a cliché with modern novelists, but what a gap separates the first-rate from the merely popular may be seen by comparing Elizabeth Bowen to Graham Greene. Life is not simple in one way any more than it is in another, and we do not illuminate by concentrating on the dirty bands. In fact there are no bands, there are streaks.

How beauty and ugliness are indistinguishably mingled could not be better suggested than in that exquisite book *The Death of the Heart*, one of the most memorable novels of the last thirty years. How it remains in the mind, when so many countless others have gone silently away, this story of innocence meeting experience and not knowing what to make of it.

Earlier than our encounter with *Death of the Heart* came that with another memorable novel. At the time when we were looking around us and demanding the equivalent of the great Russian novelists, there appeared a book which took us all by storm. It continues to take people by storm, I understand, and Miss Kate O'Brien is constantly being arrested by total strangers who announce portentously that they have read *Without My Cloak*. Well, in those days of 1932 we all read *Without my Cloak ;* we discussed it ; we delighted in it, in the sweep of the journey, the ease of the going, the re-creation of that family life, the like of which, or something similar, we felt instinctively lay behind all of us. Here was a further clearance and planting of the wild field into which we had been born : here were characters we recognised from within even in their extravagance, their affectations. And the net-work of family relationships, irritation and love not to be unravelled, how familiar that was to us, and the blooming and fading of beauty, symbolized by the figure of Mollie, too soon lowered into " that preposterous place, her grave."

Now, it may be that coming to us at a particular phase in our development, *Without My Cloak* drew from us exaggerated toll. But I scarcely think so. Reading it again in soberer years, one cannot but believe it a remarkable book for a young woman to have written ; one cannot but allow admiringly the wisdom and the wit, the maturity and the richness. I am told that in England the fact that Miss O'Brien's characters are Catholics, that their moral dilemmas are presented in terms of Catholic belief, made it seem strange to many people : in a Catholic country of course, this only served to emphasise the impression of broad humanity it produced, the sense that Miss O'Brien and her book went " with sway of all the world."

Miss O'Brien is always a moralist, in the sense that she sees life as constantly presenting her characters with an agonising moral choice: sometimes, as with Vincent in *The Ante-Room* they cannot endure the pressure: sometimes as with the nun in *Land of Spices* they choose high and hard and are in danger from their choice; sometimes, as with Anna in *That Lady* they choose sin. Danger whatever the choice, love of God and human love in conflict, that is the underlying theme of Miss O'Brien's best novels. In *Land of Spices*, technically a most skilled work, reflection and action answering each other antiphonally, love of God is finally shown as flooding back into life as love of humanity; integration is achieved in the soul of the nun.

It is a moving book; for while Miss O'Brien is a moralist, or as she says herself of George Eliot, a "moralising fablist" her awareness of a man's moral struggle is only part of the warm and strong sympathy which she feels for him: she is constantly alive to the dignity as well as the wounds of human nature. If she is ironic, it is with a tender irony, such as George Eliot, a writer with whom she would be pleased to be compared, expended on her creatures. When she falls short it is never from a freezing of her vital powers, as with Elizabeth Bowen; it is from sentimentality, that is, excessive emotional response to inadequate cause. Miss O'Brien is an avowed sentimentalist; she would prefer to err through an excess of emotional response rather than a failure.

Indeed it is a matter for congratulation, I think, that our Irish writers have so far shown no signs of that chill of the spirit which has struck deep in other quarters—or could one perhaps say that James Joyce introduced the fashionable shiver? In him, however, it was but one element: in Graham Greene, in Mauriac, it is very nearly everything. Recoil from life is not sufficient equipment for a novelist: it may—why not?—be a movement in every novelist's soul, but it must be offset by the outgoing wave; and that balance and sanity and beauty our best novelists still possess.

A title like *Thirty Years of Irish Letters* suggests something of harvest. Nothing of the sort can be attempted in a short article. One might, perhaps, have done better to try to order and classify, to have added more names and said something more general about the various groups. I am only too conscious of the admirable writers, the works that have pleased and delighted, which find here no record. For instance, can one talk about the novel in the last thirty years and not mention Francis MacManus, Peader O'Donnell, Michael McLaverty, Forrest Reid, Liam O'Flaherty, Francis Hackett, Francis Stuart? Has one any excuse for omitting, in discussion of the short story, the name of Lord Dunsany, Norah Hoult or Liam O'Flaherty? And what of our fantasists and licensed jesters, our Samuel Beckett, Flann O'Brien, Merryn Wall, Brinsley McNamara, who delight us with their stravaganza, their distorted reflection of life

and humanity, as startling and as diverting as the figures that gaze back at us from the mirrors in a fun palace? Should one not, in a serious assessment, attempt to record something of the diversity of scene which our novelists give us, the novel being in Stendhal's phrase "a mirror dawdling down a road", and differing as the roads down which it wanders differ, as the creatures who pass in front of it differ?

One should, of course, given word and time enough! and something of the sort has been done for the novel by Benedict Kiely in his *Modern Irish Fiction*. But in a short article one cannot even separate the apples into those that will keep—or so one thinks—and those that had better be eaten at once and forgotten. All one can do is point here and there and say "that seemed to me particularly bright and brilliant skinned. this other very sweet-flavoured". And since everybody does not fancy the same flavour and the same skin, my choice will naturally not be another's. Had I space, there are other books and other authors I should like to discuss—Francis MacManus's *Fire in the Dust*, for instance, a grim and concentrated tragic story, different from any of the writer's previous ten novels, and giving evidence of his stretch and elasticity, his capacity to press on, to develop; Peader O'Donnell's lovely *Islanders*; Francis Hackett's *The Green Lion*, a book to set beside *Death of the Heart* or *The Saint and Mary Kate*; Forrest Reid's *Young Tom*, a delicate and authentic account of childhood experience; Samuel Beckett's preposterous and delightful *Murphy*; Joseph O'Neill's *Chosen by the Queen*; Teresa Deevy's plays, and as a salute to a newcomer, Val Mulkerns's *A Time Outworn*.

It will not have escaped notice that in this survey I have but mentioned two giants of the immediate past, Yeats and Joyce. The achievement of both looms like a cliff, solid, vast, incalculable. I have deliberately ignored them, not only because their work reaches back beyond my allotted span—*The Portrait of the Artist, Dubliners* and the greater part of *Ulysses* were all written before 1918—but because giants require more living room than the normal-sized, and cannot be crammed in among dozens of others. Besides one must see them as a whole: it is no use examining a toe or an eye-brow. The influence of Joyce extends far beyond our own shores, and Yeats will probably be judged the greatest poet of his day: it is already difficult to remember that he was writing until 1939, so famed and so fabulous has be become. If the last thirty years has thrown up nothing, so far as we can yet see, to equal them, is that cause for despair? And who is to say what the future may have to record of other greatness, lying hidden in these recent years, which have in their turn been nothing but a wild field to a later generation?

LORNA REYNOLDS

TRADITION AND THE FUTURE OF IRISH DRAMA

BY ROGER MCHUGH, M.A., PH.D.
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THE recent loss of the Abbey Theatre and the subsequent playing of the Abbey Players in the Queen's Theatre (which seems likely to end whatever chance of survival they retained) makes this an opportune time for thinking about our dramatic tradition and its prospects of continuity. Our tradition of native drama is young but by examining what is best in it one stands a reasonable chance of working out some sort of a plan of what might be done to preserve it and to help it. There is little point in merely preserving it as a sort of museum-piece. The English movement to commemorate Shakespeare by a memorial had little real vitality as long as the imagination of its supporters could extend no farther than the erection of a bronze bust of the Bard in London. When they began to realise that what Shakespeare needed for his honoured bones was the incense of a live theatre, their movement took shape and direction, put on life and gave to their nation first the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre at Stratford and more recently a National Theatre in London. Whatever may become of the Abbey Theatre, the tradition which it created is no longer the preserve of any one theatre but belongs to our nation. And it is about time that the nation started looking after it properly.

I.

There is so much richness and variety in that tradition that only a few aspects of it can be treated here. To my mind, one of the most valuable if less obvious things about it is a fine conception of tragedy. Yeats's predominantly lyrical gift impeded his writing tragedies of lasting worth ; but the pages of his *Plays and Controversies* and *Dramatis Personae* are full of good things about the nature of tragedy and his *Deirdre*, for all its echoes of Shakespearean phrases and the arrested development of its ending, is a notable work. Yeats also left us a simple form for the writing of tragedies ; the form which he himself built upon the model of the Noh plays of Japan. It has seemed to me sometimes that he should not have chosen this model, for in Japan its effect depended to a great extent upon the complicated symbolism of every gesture and of every detail of costume and Yeat's later idea of drama was esoteric enough without this ; and yet, occasionally, as in *The Dreaming of the Bones* it seems capable, his elaborately simple instrument, of giving out a deep universal note. The poetic dramatists who came after him have not taken it up. These

Noh plays of Yeats are seldom performed and in reading them one is easily put off by their arcane personal symbolism or by their dramatically static nature (*The Only Jealousy of Emer* and *At the Hawk's Well*). But it may well be that some young poet in search of the wider audience of the theatre will experiment with them and prove their form capable of a greater tragic intensity than Yeats usually achieved with it.

The conception of the place of character in tragedy which one finds in Yeats's writings, the idea that character must be kept out of it as much as possible, is found also in those of Lady Gregory ; " . . . tragedy shows humanity in the grip of circumstance, of fate, of what our people call ' the thing will happen', ' The Woman in the Stars that does all '," she wrote ; " Fate itself is the protagonist, your actor cannot carry much character, it is out of place. You do not want to know the character of a wrestler you see trying his strength at a show." Perhaps she simplifies it too much ; yet she might be describing Synge's tragedy, *Riders to the Sea*, in these words. There the sea is the protagonist and the character of old Maurya, who is in its claws, is pared away to the bone. And there are few finer strokes than that by which Synge, with a Greek economy of technique, reveals the whole pattern of her life ;

> *Maurya.*—There was Patch after was drowned out of a currach that turned over. I was sitting here with Bartley, and he a baby, lying on my two knees, and I seen two women, and three women, and four women coming in, and they crossing themselves and not saying a word . . .
>
> (*She pauses again with her hand stretched out to the door. It opens softly and old women begin to come in, crossing themselves on the threshold and kneeling down in front of the stage with red petticoats over their heads*).
>
> *Maurya* (half in a dream, to Cathleen).—Is it Patch, or Michael, or what is it at all ?

O'Casey gets a similarly poignant effect in the last act of *Juno and the Paycock* by making Juno at her moment of deepest suffering utter not her own words but those of Mrs. Tancred ; the point is that at the height of tragedy even the characteristics of Juno (who is much more a ' character ' than Maurya) disappear and she becomes Juno and Mrs. Tancred and your mother or mine.

Our best dramatic writers always seem to have a clear sense of the difference between remediable and irremediable human suffering of which Ernest Toller wrote :

> For only unnecessary suffering can be vanquished, the suffering which arises out of the unreason of humanity, out of an inadequate social system. There must always be a residue of suffering, the lonely suffering imposed upon mankind by life and death. And only this residue is necessary and inevitable, is the tragic element of life and of life's symboliser, art.

O'Casey seems to lose it after his early plays, as if he became preoccupied with changes in society which would remedy much human suffering. I do not think that he made this choice as deliberately as George Bernard Shaw had done before him (though it is perhaps natural to assume otherwise) or as consciously he himself tried to shape a new technique. But the deliberate widening of his focus in a search for new dramatic forms has somehow coincided with a diffusion of energy and of effect. Without the family-focus, which is as old as Aristotle, our writers, whether of tragedy or of comedy, tend to disintegrate. With it a long line of dramatists—Synge, O'Casey, Murray, Colum, Robinson, Carroll, Deevy and others—have us infinite riches in a little room.

II.

The two pillars upon which the achievement of the Abbey Theatre rested were the dramatic treatment of legend and of contemporary life. The former was popular enough when people could identify the legends somehow with our struggle against England; after the heroes had appeared upon both sides in the Civil War, they became suspect. And by that time the rising tide of naturalistic comedy and small-town tragedy in any case had sealed their fate. It was, as A. E. Malone has pointed out, a sociological age and the playrights everywhere were examining their consciences in the theatre. In Ireland they did not examine them very deeply in most cases and the nineteen twenties did not produce here, as they produced on the continent and in America, a body of " plays of social protest ". In view of the ephemeral nature of the average play of this type, it is perhaps just as well; but we have little reason to congratulate ourselves upon the stereotyped play which became the fashion during the 'twenties and 'thirties in the Abbey Theatre. The dominant authors during this period were Robinson and Shiels who between them have had over forty plays produced at the same theatre; while the younger writers might have studied Robinson's craft with advantage, the influence of Shiels was, I think, bad for the younger playwrights; for his plays were almost always successful but, on the whole, were extremely superficial, and never more so than when they gave the illusion of having something profound to say. The decline in quality of the average Abbey Theatre play during this period was occasionally arrested—as by the experimentation of Frank O'Connor and Hugh Hunt or the early plays of Paul Vincent Carroll—but was hastened by the death of Yeats, then of F. R. Higgins, the departure for Madrid of Walter Starkie and a number of other factors leading to an almost complete lack of co-ordinated artistic direction in the theatre itself. Signs of a revival of standards in recent years were negatived by the sudden loss of the theatre itself.

Recent plays by some of the younger writers, such as Joseph Tomelty, Bryan MacMahon and M. J. Mulloy, indicate that the long reign of realism has ended. I should not be surprised to find writers turning again to our legendary material. In France, Anouilh, Sartre, Camus, in America Eugene O'Neill have turned back to classical legend for fresh stimulus. Such a return is likely here because we are daily discovering more about our legends and are perhaps making out what they are really like somewhat better than the Celtic Twilight writers did. It may be remembered also that these writers for various reasons left mediæval legend alone and that there is a whole field, untilled except by a few writers such as Austin Clarke, which seems full of dramatic happenings and characters awaiting the playwright's attention.

But there will be little use in our playwrights turning back to legend or facing forward to life if they lose the sense of language which is part of their heritage. Whether the language of our best plays is taken at its most vivid and colourful, as in Synge or in that " city Synge ", O'Casey, or in its quieter modulations, as in Murray or Colum, it is a fine pointer for aspiring dramatists. When one returns to it, one understands what it is that our theatre has lost during the past two decades and also how it was that the people in the cheapest seats in the early Abbey Theatre used to demonstrate against the taking-off of verse plays. An audience can be educated by being offered the best plays just as surely as it can be debased by the mediocre and the slipshod. With so many standardising influences at work in our world the necessity of holding the theatre as a citadel of living speech is all the more pressing.

III

Drama is probably the most social and the most sociable of the arts. In Dublin recently Tyrone Guthrie spoke of that emotional interchange between actor and audience which goes on in the theatre ; " Each receives and each gives ", he said ; " and this is the healthiest condition of art ". Generally speaking, he pointed out, with the film, the radio or their offspring, television, so much emphasis is placed upon the way in which things are done, upon the techniques used, that there is less and less room for personality and consequently for that human interchange which the theatre can provide. Any decline in a country's drama therefore means a decline in its humanising influences ; and any such decline is a bad thing.

Ireland's dramatic tradition at present needs a living memorial in the shape of a healthy dramatic movement. I would emphasise this rather than the need of an adequate National Theatre partly because the latter would be the natural consequent of the former. The constituents of a healthy dramatic movement which we possess are a widespread amateur dramatic activity, some regional festivals, a growing interest in drama in the schools and in the universities (both, one hopes, aware of how much drama is entering

into the educating of children and adults in other countries); but these are hampered by lack of co-ordination, of training, of standards, of equipment and of finance. How can they be helped? Some will see in state-help the only possible means. And certainly in an age when Mæcenas is becoming as obsolete as the giant elk one is inclined to agree. The pattern of dramatic activity in other countries is revealing. In Scandinavia, for example, the capital has its National Theatre which is connected with provincial theatres in the provincial towns; these, in turn, are connected with the village theatres in their districts. The national theatres must send out each year a number of tours to the smaller centres. National and provincial theatres have their dramatic schools; the village theatres can rely upon these to train their actors, producers and designers, and there are enough scholarships to them to ensure that this will not be beyond the means of poorer people. It may be argued that the planning of dramatic activity on such a scale is possible only in richer countries like Sweden. The answer to that is that Iceland, a comparatively poor country, with a total population of 150,000 people, spends £40,000 per annum on her drama. Nor is all this achieved in Iceland solely by state aid. The village theatres, for example, are paid for half by the state, half by the local council. And, of course, where private enterprise offers help it is readily availed of. In Ireland the municipalities are inclined to hang back in the hope that the state will do something. There is no reason whatever why Dublin should not have had long ago a first-rate municipal theatre. Galway recently raised a howl of protest when somebody proposed that the Taidhbearc grant should be withdrawn; it would have been more to the point if Galway had decided to build itself a theatre, to lease it to An Taidhbearc and to encourage its own citizens to attend it, making it a bilingual centre of dramatic activity for that area. The present state of An Taidhbearc is partly due to Galway's lack of interest in Irish; but it is also due in some measure to Galway's lack of interest in drama. What interest there is, in the schools, the university and the city itself cannot take permanent root without some permanent centre. Dublin is even more short-sighted, for the number of its dramatic groups makes it certain that a civic theatre would pay; all the smaller halls are leased all the year round and there are quite a number of basement theatres; yet the Corporators are apparently as blind to the financial possibilities as they are to the artistic.

I think that universities also might do more for drama than they are doing; one has only to glance at universities outside Ireland to be sure of this. The American universities' Drama Departments are sometimes on too grandiose a scale; but they often do good work in liberal arts training and supply a centre of dramatic training and performance to a whole district. At the Sorbonne, the Mediæval Theatre Group and the Groupe Antique de la Sorbonne both arose out of the academic needs of professors and of students and provided an excellent link between the universities

and the people. In Bristol University drama has been taught as a Pass degree subject since 1947 ; from this autumn it may be taken as an Honours subject, if taken with an ancient language or a modern one other than English. Oxford, which has long preserved a link between academic and dramatic activity, now seems to be moving towards the Bristol system of a small drama department but, since it does not regard drama as a sufficient subject for a full Honours school, favours instead a post-graduate course leading to a diploma. Finally, several American and European universities which have no drama-departments have Chairs of Theatre History. In Stockholm the Chair of Theatre History is linked with the Drottingholm National theatre and Theatre Museum, much as a Chair of Theatre History or of Irish Dramatic Literature in one of our universities might be linked in some way with the Abbey Theatre. The growing importance of drama in the schools, in adult education, or as a career on the stage or in films or television provides a practical pressure on foreign universities ; but it would be stupid to imagine that cultural and academic needs are not involved ; or that Ireland is somehow immune from modern cultural, academic or practical needs.

In short, we have in Ireland that which money cannot buy ; a tradition of and an enthusiasm for drama. We, as almost the only creditor nation in Europe to-day, can scarcely be said to lack money ; and there is little doubt that the times are set in the direction of our using our money to supply the needs of our own people and to develop the resources of our own nation. At such a time there is hope of finding in many that response which Yeats once tried to win from one Mæcenas :

> Look up in the sun's eye and give
> What the exultant heart calls good
> That some new day may breed the best
> Because you gave, not what they would,
> But the right twigs for an eagle's nest.

ROGER MCHUGH

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ARTS

BY THOMAS McGREEVY

Director of the National Gallery of Ireland

GOING up Westmoreland Street and crossing O'Connell Bridge, the Dubliner notices that Horatio Nelson is still on top of his pillar. Perhaps it is a symbol of the fact that some elements in Dublin do not, even yet, accept their city as the capital of a nation. It is true that Queen Victoria is gone from the square in front of Leinster House, but when recently the Prince Consort was taken down from the centre of Leinster Lawn, he was put up again less than a hundred yards away; and Lord Carlisle is still in the People's Gardens at the Phœnix Park. Lord Eglinton and Winton still looks out from behind the railings of Saint Stephen's Green and Lord Gough still rides, comely and calm, on the main road to Áras an Úachtaráin. To be critical of the fact that these statues still remain where they were before 1921 is not to disdain them as works of art. The much derided statue of Queen Victoria was, sculpturally considered, far from being unworthy of the genius of John Hughes as has often been suggested, and the subsidiary figures, notably that of Ireland crowning the dying soldier, were of great beauty. The Prince Consort particularly, but Lord Carlisle also, if they are a little insipid, do, nevertheless show Foley at his most graceful, and as an equestrian statue the Gough memorial is not altogether to be despised. Even MacDowell's Lord Eglinton and Winton might elsewhere look more dignified than it does amid the boscage at St. Stephen's Green. It is to be hoped that some day a museum of the monuments of the British occupation will be set up. All these statues would then, as museum pieces, get more detached and sympathetic consideration than they get, or indeed than they are entitled to get, while they exist as remnants of English political propaganda. Meanwhile, the factor to note is that since 1921 no monuments of their kind have been erected. The artistic glorification of unimportant outsiders has ceased. But Dublin's magnificent tradition in sculpture has continued to flourish. Carried on in the line of succession of Hogan rather than in that of Foley, it has been applied mainly to national as well, of course, as to religious subjects. That is one positive gain, and we have only to think of the late Oliver Shepherd's *Cuchulain* in the General Post Office; of the late Albert Power's noble studies of the national leaders; and of numerous works by living sculptors of the younger generation, not only in Dublin but in Cork, to realize that the great tradition is safe and that the gifts of our sculptors are being applied to subjects acceptable to the whole nation.

In this connection I may perhaps speak of my own daily work as Director of the National Gallery and point out that the National Portrait Gallery has no longer for its climax and culmination the portrait of Elizabeth Tudor surrounded by portraits of her friends Essex, Leicester and Raleigh—with Oliver Cromwell to a flank—but is now divided into compartments which, so far as the material available permits, image the story of the Irish nation. The National Portrait Gallery is, I hope, becoming what its name would lead the visitor to expect it to be.

Irish architecture of the last thirty years is, perhaps, most finely represented on the ecclesiastical side by the Basilica at Lough Derg, designed by William Scott and built by Thomas Cullen; and on the civil side by Collinstown Airport, which is the work of Mr. Desmond Fitz-Gerald. The one is traditional, the other is, in materials and design, absolutely contemporary. Many other churches and cathedrals in traditional styles have been built as well as the Basilica at Lough Derg, but the Basilica does show an Irish architect informing an edifice with life and beauty throughout though in a convention that we might very well assume to have been outmoded. The only church that might be considered in its 'contemporariness' as an ecclesiastical equivalent to Collinstown Aerodrome is Turners Cross, but Turners Cross is not, of course, the work of an Irishman. Collinstown Aerodrome, it may be noted, though absolutely contemporary in style, is yet quite classical in its proportions. This is the real miracle of Mr. Fitz-Gerald's achievement, and one has only to recall the sprawling and scattered buildings of the aerodromes at other places, Shannon, Liverpool and London, to realize what a vital contribution to modern architecture, regardless of frontiers, has here been made by an Irish architect of the present generation. Perhaps not so much can be said for the new Industry and Commerce building in Kildare Street, but one has only to compare it with the inflated quality, the Kiplingesque imperialism in stone, of Sir Aston Webb's Government Buildings in Upper Merrion Street, the last architectural effort of the Castle administration, to realize what we were saved from by the Sinn Féin Revolution.

One other point in connection with architecture: A very great deal of valuable research has been carried out in recent years, and we now know that Irishmen need have no inferiority complex as to their part in making Dublin the very beautiful city it is. Thus we have to thank Dr. C. P. Curran for establishing the fact that a certain Thomas Cooley, presumably the architect of the City Hall (1769) and the first architect of the Four Courts, was the son of a Dublin "plasterer" (*i.e.* builder) and was a student at the Dublin Society Schools. This discovery emphasizes the fact, already recognized by many scholars, that our so-called "Georgian" architecture should more properly be described as Irish Classical. The Georges, after all, had nothing to do with it and

rishmen who were little concerned with the Georges played their full art in developing it, from the days of Thomas Cooley and Michael tapleton, Thomas Ivory and Francis Johnston down to those of Patrick yrne. They and the stuccodores who worked with them did as much o beautify the capital city of their own country as even the most gifted f the strangers, Cassell, Gandon, Cramillon and the rest who used to e held up to us as the initiators of everything. To get these strangers nto better focus as the research of the last thirty years has done is not o reduce their artistic stature in any way.

To come back to our own time, the Irish Stained Glass movement, hich is without parallel in other countries, had of course begun before 921. It was in fact part of the great national revival of which political inn Féin was another aspect. But the work of the great pioneer artist f the movement, Michael Healy (1873–1941), is being ever more widely ecognized. So is that of his brilliant younger contemporary, Harry Clarke. And other artists, contemporaries and associates of Healy in is later years, notably Mr. Hubert MacGoldrick and Miss Evie Hone re still happily busy in our midst. Not that we can afford to be omplacent. Commercialism does not take defeat easily. An organized ffort should be made to continue the Healy tradition not on a commercial ut on a national basis. A proper stained glass department ought to e established at our National College of Art. Anxiety as to the future f the movement which led to the unique achievement of modern Ireland n stained glass would thus be allayed.

In painting it is not only that every idiom, from the most academic o the most modern, is now firmly established and fully accepted, and nat all groups are organizing freely and exhibiting copiously. There also the fact that our standards are no longer, or, if at all, only to a ight degree, those established by South Kensington during the nineteenth entury. In fact, so far as painting in Dublin is concerned, the Prince onsort is really dead. Our collectors use their own judgment, are ot slaves even to Paris let alone to London, and Dublin may claim, even modestly, to be a metropolis. The aim is of course to have several ish art centres like the Italy or the Netherlands of the great periods. till there has been progress. One point I should like to make in onnection with modern painting in Ireland is this: for many of our tists, Mr. Yeats being a notable example, the national traditions of our nd have been an extraordinary source of artistic inspiration. They ave given point and focus to Mr. Yeats's amazing invention in colour, design, and in composition, and have enriched his work accordingly. think he would be the first to admit his debt to them. It is for us to knowledge that he has repaid that debt handsomely. The religious aditions of Ireland have similarly provided focus and point for the periments and inventions in the modern idiom of the late Mainie Jellett.

Her ' Madonna of Eire ' is the obvious proof. An indirect proof is the blind alley that modern idioms have turned out to be for many artists of neighbouring countries where abstract ideas without any enriching imaginative background have produced but barren leaves in the book of art.

Of course we have not progressed in every direction. I am personally concerned with the fact that our National Gallery does not yet play the part in the cultural life of the nation that it should. All over the world the great galleries have, in the last thirty years, expanded their activities to an extraordinary degree. They publish books of reproductions, cheap individual reproductions, catalogues and commentaries on their pictures. They have lectures given on their pictures. They have magnificient libraries of books of reference and ' art ' books. They have collections of lantern slides which may be borrowed by outside lecturers. In all of these matters and activities our National Gallery is deficient. The Civil Service makes no estimate for them. Yet one has only to lecture in town or country to realize how eagerly our people respond to every effort that is made to increase their knowledge of the arts and of art history. The new galleries that have been established in Waterford, in Kilkenny, in Limerick, in Drogheda, in addition to those already existing in Dublin, Belfast and Cork tell the same story. The youth of the new Ireland is, I think, in the highest sense consciously looking for more abundant life. That it should to such a notable extent be doing so is evidence that there has been development. It should be our happy duty to provide for its needs.

THOMAS MCGREEVY

REVIEWS

The Future of Publishing in Ireland

UBLISH OR PERISH By Fergus Murphy, B.A. (Sorbonne), Dip. in Lib., N.U.I., Mercier Press.

HE author of this lively little pamphlet, who is County Librarian in Waterford, rts off by giving, in his survey of the Irish publishing industry, some highly pressing figures, only equalled in depression by those of the adverse trade balance, hich the Government delights in holding over our heads. He chooses 1938, an usually low year, as an example, and he has also deliberately chosen the smaller untries for comparison with Ireland ; as the figures are startling, I propose to ote them in full :—

Country.	Population.	Book Production.
Norway ...	... 2,809,600	... 2,384
Denmark ...	... 3,550,656	... 3,293 (1927)
Switzerland	... 4,077,000	... 2,162
Sweden ...	... 6,141,000	... 2,834
Holland ...	... 7,832,000	... 6,172
Ireland ...	... 2,968,420	... 33

So as to maintain a just balance, he continues :—" I shall add on 200 (a very nerous addition I assure you) for school texts omitted and Gúm and other publica- ns which escaped my net, to the total for Ireland." He also calculated that in e years 1938–48, Irish publishers produced 555 books, of which 31 were in Irish. ne peak years in this period were 1945–6–7, with 64, 80, and 64 books respectively, ly 55 being produced in 1948 ; I should suspect that the figures for the years 49–51, when they are available, may be a little more reassuring.

Mr. Murphy cedes the point that Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Holland, they each speak their own language, have a monopoly of their home markets, t he balances this with the further and telling point that their export markets ust in consequence be greatly restricted. One rather wishes he had included lgium, a small country with a population speaking two languages (it should of urse be remembered that Flemish and Dutch are almost identical), which has a e and well established publishing tradition—Messrs. Casterman of Tournai ust be nearly the oldest Catholic publishing house in the world. In regard to the her country, Switzerland, with a population of which 71 per cent. speak German, per cent. French, and 6 per cent. Italian, the remainder speaking little known nguages, he is not quite so convincing ; he points out that " if it can, theoretically least, export in three languages, its home markets can also be flooded by imports the same three languages," but he neglects the fact that the six years before the t war and the war years must have been a boom period for German Swiss publishers, all the best work in German was being done by them, owing to Nazi interference th the publishing trade in Germany.

Having marshalled his statistics, the author goes on to say " we can plainly that Irish publishing as a live progressive industry is practically non-existent " ; ely a rather sweeping statement. As a member of the small but patient band of sh publishers, I would query this, and am inclined to think that Mr. Murphy y be confusing quantity with quality. I also wonder whether he has really tried find out what Irish publishers are attempting to do, for a little later on he asks ether " Irish publishers could not break altogether fresh ground," and he points " the large number of worthwhile and valuable books by Continental Catholic ters which still await translation "—but it is just this " fresh ground " that rway two Irish publishers have been trying to break during the last three years, l though we may not have got far yet, we got there before Mr. Murphy !

Which brings us to another point which the author partially, but not completely, overlooks: a publisher needs the support of authors if he is to produce books, for he cannot write them all himself; Mr. Murphy points out, with justice, how many Irish authors are living outside their own country, almost all of them sending their MSS. to British and not to Irish publishers, but he seems to forget that there are many potential Irish authors living at home, men and women of talent and wit and learning, who seem almost pathologically reluctant to set pen to paper; if they hate the act of writing, one wishes they could be persuaded to speak more into the dictaphone, and less to each other. I am convinced that our home literary output could be tripled or quadrupled, with benefit to everyone.

Our author leaves *terra firma* for a short time when he suggests the "establishing of Irish publishing and book-selling on a new co-operative basis, sufficiently financed, skilfully administered, with a broad imaginative outlook and, at the present juncture, by the flotation also of a few entirely new companies with a capital of at least £100,000 each." By all means let us co-operate, but why "entirely new" and where are these very large capital sums to come from? And what of us who are not "entirely new" but are old hands at the game—are we expected to retire gracefully into private life, like Victorian dowagers?

However, he returns to earth when he has a shrewd hit at Sir Stanley Unwin, and he is shrewder still when he speaks of the "absolute necessity of our own agencies in Britain." There were discussions on this theme at the time of the ban, but they petred out when, largely through the good offices and generous help of the British Ambassador, Sir Gilbert Laithwaite, the ban was removed. The fact remains that the question of distribution outside their country is the greatest problem which Irish publishers have to face, and this is a matter about which discussions with the Department of Industry and Commerce might be most valuable and constructive. One hopes that this brochure, which sometimes irritates but almost always stimulates, will be read not only by those directly connected with the book trade, but also by those responsible for Ireland's trade as a whole.

Wicklow

Irish Agriculture

IRISH AGRICULTURE IN TRANSITION. By Joseph Johnston, M.A. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Co., Ltd. 1951. 15s.

At the end of the last century it was generally believed that the transformation of the occupying tenants into owners of their farms would begin a new era of productivity and prosperity for Irish agriculture. The results did not fulfil the expectations. The reasons for this failure are many. Some of them are quite clear; others are vague and intangible; all are closely interwoven. In the writing of this book, Professor Johnston had as "one object . . to make clear by an objective analysis those 'missing components' in former policies which help to account for their disappointing results, those demoralising bye-products of former policies which still exercise a baneful influence, and those objective facts of our economic circumstances which must be clearly realised if appropriate policies of national, regional and local initiative are to make possible the most desirable results."

Like all practical farmers, Professor Johnston is a man of very definite views and for him some of the most demoralizing influences on Irish farming stem from the Land Acts. Because the State took over the land and distributed it among the tenants, the idea (born of centuries of State-imposed oppression) that "the Government" is the source of all benefits became more firmly rooted in the minds of Irish

farmers. That idea is still operative and greatly lessens individual initiative. The expectation of getting something for nothing was fostered by these Acts. Tenants were enabled to purchase their holdings by paying for forty-nine years a sum 30 per cent. less than their former annual rent. In recent years this has meant that each holding is bought at from £600 to £1,000 less than its economic price; the State, *i.e.* the taxpayer, pays the difference. The author is right in pointing out that here, where there is but a limited amount of good land available for redistribution, such a practice inflates the price of land and can lead to undesirable political "wangling." But in fairness to the farmers it should be recalled that at least until quite recently they more than repaid their debt to the people by providing them with cheap food at the cost of keeping their own standard of living very low. This was commented on by the Banking Commission; it was the farmers *and their families* who suffered in the depression and the economic war.

By prohibiting sub-division the Land Acts fixed a financial and social gulf between the class of landless labourers and the beneficiaries under the Acts. In an effort to find land for the landless the Government obtained powers in 1923 to acquire land compulsorily. Professor Johnston is uneasy about the exercise of these powers. He thinks that they interfere too much with security of tenure and impede long-term financing of agriculture by financial institutions. On page 19, however, he seems to believe that these powers would be justified if they resulted in the setting up of more holdings of 100 acres and over. This brings out the fact that the problems of our agriculture are social and technical. The author is chiefly anxious to increase production and so he is very critical of the policy of multiplying holdings of 20 acres or so. In its desire to keep people on the land the Government is more influenced by the social aspect, and is still dividing up large estates into small farms. One inevitable result of the impossibility of subdivision is that the small farmer with a numerous family has tended to put his savings in the bank in order to build up a fund for division among the sons and daughters who are destined not to inherit the farm. This is only fair, because farming in Ireland is generally a family effort. Money paid to members of the family who must leave the land (and are emigrating from the country in ever greater numbers), is money taken from the land; it is no surprise that farming is undercapitalised to the extent described in chapter VIII. Here is one of the most powerful economic, social and political arguments for the rapid decentralization of industry and for the development in rural areas of secondary industries deriving their raw materials from agriculture. Even if this programme has to be subsidised in the beginning, it will repay dividends in keeping men and women in the country and in checking the drain of capital from farms.

When he deals with the technical aspect of agriculture Professor Johnston's work is a case study showing the decline in production owing to an unbalanced agricultural programme. For him the policy pursued from 1932 to the outbreak of the war was an unmitigated disaster. The "wheat policy" of those years did little to keep people on the land; it ignored grass our greatest asset; by starving the land of much needed fertilisers it made the war-time task of growing wheat and other food-stuffs more difficult than it need have been; it was "without a solid foundation in a profitable livestock economy and produced a cumulative deterioration of soil fertility from which it will take years to recover." How that policy worked and its bad effects are shown with a wealth of figures and diagrams. No one can read this section and dismiss it with a shrug of the shoulders and a "Just another grass crank." Even if one disagrees with his views on these matters, one cannot but read with great interest his chapter on "Eire bounties and British

penal duties." This is a very good economic analysis of the immediate and widespread influence of British Government policy on our agriculture. It shows that English policy is one of " those objective facts of our economic circumstances " that have to be taken into account in planning future policies. Those who are inclined to dismiss long term agreements with Britain as being useless should reflect on the proved effects of the absence of such agreements—here they can see those effects on the cattle trade, egg production, bacon, butter.

This is not a book of negative criticism. It is a plea for an integrated economy as is evident from Part II " Contemporary trends and influences." This covers in detail such matters as the new ideas on grass and silage, mechanisation, the necessity of farmyard industry—pigs and poultry—for giving an adequate standard of living to the small farmer. Modern techniques and the use of expensive machinery have outmoded the typical 30 acre farm as an economic unit. Suggestions are made for the organized application of co-operative principles to production on individually owned farms.

Farming is more than a means of livelihood, it is a way of life. Because of this it calls for education and idealism. It is here than we are weakest. The opening pages describe the efforts of Sir H. Plunkett and his followers to awaken idealism and to " build rural communities " by means of the Co-operative Movement. To-day that movement is confined almost entirely to the dairy farming regions. This geographical limitation prevents it from having a nation-wide influence. More unfortunate is the fact that the movement seems to have lost much of its early idealism and is more concerned with " better business " and bigger profits than with " better living ". Some hard things are said about the movement. However many of these societies are showing enterprise, and by embarking on the cultivation of model farms are educating their members in the principles of better farming. The book contains an account of several of these farms. Perhaps the loss of its early high ideals is not wholly the fault of the Co-operative movement. The struggle for national independence engaged all the energies and enthusiasm of the country almost from the time of the foundation of the Co-ops. After that aim had been achieved there seems to have been a reaction of disillusionment that affected all movements and the Co-ops. were no exception. One might plausibly argue that the loss of idealism was inevitable once the movement agreed in 1900 to allow the Department of Agriculture to promote " better farming " by education. It thereby gave up the greatest means of keeping idealism alive. Prior to 1899 agricultural education had been surprisingly well looked after, especially by the National Board of Education. The failure of the Department of Agriculture to develop agricultural education is described at length in the Vocational Commission Report. But idealism is not dead to-day. A new spirit seems to be stirring among such groups as Muintir na Tíre and the Young Farmers' Clubs. It is from these that Professor Johnston awaits the leadership and idealism so much needed in the country. Since he thinks so highly of these groups it is a pity that he did not round off his work by an account of their aims methods and achievements.

KEVIN QUINN

IRELAND : SEVEN HUNDRED YEARS AGO

THE FIRST VERSION OF THE TOPOGRAPHY OF IRELAND. By Giraldus Cambrensis. Translated by John J. O'Meara, M.A. D.Phil. (Oxon). Dundalgan Press (W. Tempest), Ltd. 1951.

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS or Gerald the Welshman, the renowned 12th century cleric and would-be Bishop of St. David's, after his visit to Ireland wrote the above-named

work. It became so popular that he decided to add to it. He did so by inserting a mass of irrelevant matter, thus making the work twice as long as the original. It is the original and more artistically perfect version that Professor O'Meara has given us now for the first time in English.

Giraldus divided his work into three parts : the geography and natural history ; wonders and miracles ; the inhabitants. He is always entertaining, sometimes accurate and usually provocative. However, if any Irishman feels his blood begin to boil, with a corresponding if futile urge to write a letter to the papers, let him relax. The work has already been done—centuries ago. In Dimock's edition of the works of Giraldus' will be found a full list of these replies.

It would amuse Giraldus, no doubt, to hear one say that an acquaintance with his description of Ireland should be part of every Irishman's education, yet I think that claim can be justified, at least by the fact, as Professor O'Meara says, that without this and his other work, *The Conquest of Ireland*, our knowledge of Ireland in the 12th century would be much poorer.

Ireland, no less than Wales, if we are to believe Giraldus, was a place of wonders in those days. Barnacles were born of the fir-tree and he noted the fish with three gold teeth, " which seemed to prefigure the imminent conquest of the country." Remarkable too were the cranes, which when taking their turns at night in watching the common safety stand " on one leg only, while in the other featherless claw they hold a stone. They do this so that if they should go to sleep, they will be awakened again immediately by the fall of the stone and continue their watch." Giraldus was a born story-teller. As regards his facts, when he praises, since it was not his wont to praise things Irish, we may give certain weight to his words. He could acknowledge sanctity, even Irish sanctity, when he saw it, even though he does say that the Irish saints were remarkable for their vindictive spirit ! He could be loud in his praise of the " incomparable skill " of the Irish in musical instruments. He marvels at the angelically-written book at Kildare, now alas ! lost.

As Professor O'Meara says, many of his yarns are over-tall, yet he is ever informative and much is genuine fact. Of interest to us to-day, for instance, is the statement that " even to this day the plains are few in proportion to the woods." It is interesting too, in connection with the tradition he relates of St. Brigid's fire at Kildare which is never extinguished, to note that the saint is still invoked in the prayer which is said at the smoring of the fire at night (Paidir le linn choigilt na tine). Giraldus mentions also a fountain in Munster " and if anyone washes in its waters he immediately turns grey." That reminds one of *Laoidh na Seilge* in which Fionn after swimming in the magic lake on Sliabh gCuilinn comes out an old, grey-haired man.

Apart from the wide range of fact and fancy about Ireland which Giraldus opens to us, he gives an even better picture of himself, his vanity and his piety withal, his credulity and yet his quite scientific scepticism. To complete the picture one should read the other works of Giraldus, especially those dealing with his native Wales where his ambitions lay.

" Is it possible," said Bishop Baldwin, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, " is it possible so fair a youth can die ? " The words, of course, were spoken of Giraldus and recorded for us, needless to say, by the same in another work, *Mirror of the Church*. Giraldus alas ! did die, but thank God he was spared to give us the book under review. This edition is beautifully produced and is a credit to translator and publisher. Professor O'Meara has succeeded, I think, in preserving in translation, as he intended, the flavour of the original The book is meant for the ordinary

reader and so there is no undue erudition. The notes are not numerous, but clear and interesting. The illustrations taken from the manuscript of the work in the National Library add greatly to the interest of the text, and of course, in Giraldus' view, confirm it. They should be of interest too to students of Irish period-dress (or lack of it, *pace* Giraldus) and the use (and misuse) of the axe.

Diarmuid Ó Laoghaire

A Tract for the Times

JOHN GERARD. The Autobiography of an Elizabethan. Translated from the Latin by Philip Caraman. With an Introduction by Graham Greene. London: Longmans. 1951. 18s.

One is tempted to discuss the unexpected success of this book rather than the book itself. So well-known has it become in the few months since publication that its publishers' latest advertisement is a mosaic of praise from master-critics—all of them non-Catholics. A few bright pieces were filched even from the *Observer's* " bewildered " anti-Catholic review. Yet this autobiography of an Elizabethan Jesuit is, as one would expect, outspokenly Catholic ; twenty years ago it would have raised the heckles of every English critic. For the story is a microcosm of the great Elizabethan world and a naked record of its Gestapo methods with the Catholic faith. That record will cause no surprise in an Irish reader—for him, from the cradle up, Elizabeth's place in the other world has been an article of national faith ! —but it has been an eye-opener for fair-minded English Protestants. The celerity with which an Irishman gets back to Cromwell or Elizabeth is always puzzling to the English participant in an Irish-English discussion. He good-humouredly, and irritatingly, attributes it to the mist that does be on the bog of Irish history. An honest reading of this book will clear a little of the mist for him—as it has done for the critics—and give him some inkling as to the reasons for our preoccupation. With " John Gerrarde ye Jhezewt " a best-seller and Guy Fawkes on the way to becoming a model citizen, the conversion of England must be at hand !

For John Gerard was not merely one of the hunted-priests of the time ; he headed Cecil's list of wanted men. " Though the least of them all, my name was put at the head." From the night he landed from a row-boat on the Norfolk coast until, a sick and tortured man, he escaped from Dover eighteen years afterwards, John Gerard was on the run. His story is a story of pursuit and evasion and capture, of trial and torture, of midnight freedom breathlessly regained, of souls shriven and Masses said with the spy's hand on the door-knob and the shadow of the hangman dark across the altar. It is a " love-story " as Graham Greene finely points out in his introduction, " the story of a man who loved his fellows to the worst point of pain." Maybe, more than long descriptions one tiny detail gives the horrible measure of that pain. " At the end of three weeks I was able to move my fingers and to hold a knife in my hand and to help myself . . . . . My sense of touch did not revive for five months and then not completely." The passion of Jogues and Campion comes to mind—and, indeed, that of One greater than them all. *Foderunt manus meas.*

Introducer and reviewers are right in stressing the contemporary flavour of this autobiography ; it is a tract for the times. Hence, in part at least, its popularity. Ignore accidental details and the time is 1951 and the place Zagreb, Buda Pest,

Shanghai—anywhere you will on the face of this troubled planet where the God Who visited it is to be " in agony until the end of time."

Father Gerard has been well served by his modern colleague Father Caraman and the publishers have done honour to them both. The translation, like its Latin original, is spare and vivid and the editing both of text and notes altogether satisfying. It is, to put some meaning into a dead phrase, the Book of " The Month."

DONAL O'SULLIVAN

ALL ABOUT SPAIN

THIS IS SPAIN. By Richard Pattee. Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, U.S.A. Pp. x, 541. Price: $7.00. 1951.

I have called this review " All about Spain." Not, clearly, that it is or could literally be that. But Dr. Pattee has provided a remarkable compendium of Spanish history and experience during the past twenty eventful and difficult years, with introduction sufficient to make the compendium highly illuminating, and sufficient background and detail to lend it real authority. Dr. Pattee's own title is " This is Spain," and it is a good and a fair title. Read the book, for it merits that attention. You won't find it hard reading, for it is well written, with at times considerable punch and pungency. You will then have a genuinely objective picture, if such a picture can still be had after two decades of distortion and revilement, of that much debated and greatly maligned country, Spain.

Dr. Pattee starts with several advantages. He knows what he is talking about —which could not be said for all, and perhaps ought not be said for many, of the recent commentators on Spain and Spanish affairs. He knows Spain, which he has frequently visited and where he has lectured very often. In 1947 he gave more than fifty lectures ; he lectured again in 1948 and 1949, at Santander ; in 1949 and 1950 he took part in congresses, at Vich and San Sebastian. He knows also the wider Hispanic world, having spent a long time in Central and South America, and he is a member of the Academies of History of Ecuador, Panama, Colombia, Nicaragua and Venezuela. He has a perfect acquaintance with Spanish, in which language he has published five books between 1939 and 1949. He has taken the trouble too to study conditions in Spain itself, and this makes his chapters on the Church in Spain, on social and economic problems, and on the regionalist question, of particular value. And—most significant of all—he has an insight into the Spanish mind. It is by no means an easy mind to penetrate and understand, and far too often it has been misunderstood or totally ignored by the foreign commentator. Too many of these facile authors of books on Spain have known more about Marxist theory than Spanish mentality, more of the mind of Marx and Stalin than about any conceivable Spanish mind, from grandee to *campesino*.

Spaniards are very 'different'. That is what every visitor to Spain soon remarks. He may like or dislike that difference, but it is there, and he is conscious of its existence. If he asks ' different from what,' the answer is ' different from other Europeans.' Are we to say then, as Frenchmen have asserted, that Europe ends and Africa begins with the Pyrenees? Or accept the hint contained in Unamuno's question, " Are we Spaniards fundamentally incapable of Europeanization and modernization? " Dr. Pattee argues that of all the nations of Europe, Spain shows the highest degree of historical continuity and has resolutely preserved a national and popular tradition.

The defence of this tradition—he writes—" is simply the refusal to capitulate to the forces that make for revolution and transformation. Spain has been

throughout history fundamentally anti-revolutionary. The reaction against revolution, be it religious, political or social, has been constant and vigorous. The total hostility to heresy in the sixteenth century constituted a chapter in the process of rejection of liberalism and later of socialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Spain is one of the most perfect cases of a people that would not consent to transformation by external agencies."

Yet this Spanish traditionalism is not conservative in the older and stolid sense. There is in the Spanish character a strong and even fierce polarity, which is at the basis of most of Spain's more serious difficulties. For the Spaniard is capable on occasions of an immense output of energy and vitality, as during the *reconquista* in Spain itself and in the discovery and conquest of Latin America. He is equally capable of long spells of inertia and indolence. He can work hard and long, yet care little for the fruits and future of that labour ; be afire with a passion for justice and yet himself be cruel and ruthless ; be sober and flamboyant, austere and in love with colour and magnificence. He is at once one of the most unpractical of idealists and one of the most cruelly realistic of men, without a touch of sentiment or illusion. He can be Don Quixote and Sancho Panza in uneasy partnership ; he is frequently both men in one. Spain has produced some of the greatest Catholic saints—Dominic and Ignatius of Loyola, Teresa of Avila and John of the Cross—and it has reared some of the Church's most violent persecutors. Yet nowhere has the Catholic faith sunk into the sand and soil and life of any country more profoundly than in Spain.

With this as background, Dr. Pattee gives a neat pocket history of the Spanish people. I have nothing to subtract from it, and only this to add. I wish he had emphasized at greater length the Spanish achievement in the New World. He is writing in the first place, of course, for North Americans, who may already appreciate this achievement, though I have my doubts. For a European public this extra emphasis would have been valuable, if only to counteract the dreary impression left by later Spanish history, for instance that of the nineteenth century.

It is impossible here to do more than select some of the questions with which Dr. Pattee deals. His study of the Church in Spain, both before and since the Civil War, is detailed, sound and wise. The analysis he gives of the social and economic background, and of the growth of certain political movements, especially Anarchism, is of great assistance in understanding the real character of the Spanish War. His treatment of Regionalism is excellent.

The War was complicated by a number of cross currents which puzzled the average foreigner. Here, in North Eastern Spain were the Catalans, and in the North West the Basques, fighting apparently to defend their local liberties against the " unitarian " tradition of Castille, now represented by General Franco. The Catalans were not obviously Communists, and the Basques were clearly fervent Catholics. The puzzlement was deepened by the clever propaganda continuously put out from Republican Madrid. Dr. Pattee studies the history of Catalonia and the development of its regionalist attitude, with which he manifests no little sympathy. At the same time he notes its tragic aspect, by which a once conservative movement came to link itself with revolutionary elements ; and though the Second Republic did introduce the Statute of Catalonia that gave considerable autonomy to the Catalan people, the extreme Left, even in Catalonia, remained indifferent to the whole Catalan question. I quote here a paragraph on just this subject ; it is a specimen of the author's balanced judgment on situations and of the equally balanced criticism he does not hesitate to level.

" There are certain conclusions to which this brief sally into Spanish regional history allows us to make. In the first place, the regional problem is not an artificial one. Catalonia is a nation, a people, and a culture, and is very definitely

no mere subdivision of Castilian with no claim to autonomy. In the second place, the sense of history is lively among the Catalans and has provided them for generations with a keen perception of their own collective personality. Their role, on the other hand, is that of a Spanish people. Their greatness has been a part of the general Spanish epic. Their fortunes at almost every critical moment have been bound to those of the rest of the peninsula. Economically, Catalonia cut off from the peninsula is inconceivable, for the hinterland has allowed Catalonia to become strong economically and develop industry. It is precisely this economic difference that also plays a very large part in the friction between Catalonia and the rest of Spain. Catalonia is richer, more industrious, sea-minded and cosmopolitan as against Castille which is moulded and guided entirely by its inland position. The centralization of the Spanish regime in Madrid and the insistence down through the monarchy on the greatest control from the capital has proved a source of irritation and annoyance to the Catalans who are eager to embark on economic projects on their own without the dead weight of bureaucracy and officialdom weighing them down."

Of the Basque regional attitude Dr. Pattee is more critical ; and in its separatist form he considers it of modern origin and artificial character, contrasting it with the more traditional position of the Navarrese.

The book is concerned in the main with Spain from 1931 to 1951. Long chapters are devoted to the War itself, and the various strands disentangled which went to the weaving of that at times heroic, at times dreadful pattern. What Dr. Pattee shows only too convincingly is that the Second Republic established in 1931 never had the slightest chance of success. And this not because of Conservative opposition, despite the anti-religious measures adopted from the start, but because large masses of the Spanish people had been indoctrinated with notions of hate and violence, chiefly through the Anarchists and saw the foundation of the Republic not as the dawn of any constitutional government but an opportunity for revolution. The wells were poisoned already ; the brands were stacked for arson ; the stones heaped up for barricades. Nor can the liberals and the " professors " who formed the various governments be absolved from blame for this situation. For years they had advocated that ferocious laicism and secularism which Unamuno, himself a Republican, judges as more intolerant than any religious conviction. " There is something still more terrible," he has written, " intolerant, fanatical, aggressive scepticism ; a dogmatic scepticism in its very anti-dogmatism." At best, these rapidly changing governments consisted of well-intentioned and largely futile individuals. In a personal diary, Manuel Azana spoke of himself, on December 9th, 1932, as " surrounded by imbeciles," and the new Minister of Agriculture was described by his superior as " totally ignorant of everything relating to rural life." They were powerless to control the worsening situation and the growing revolution. And so they danced along behind it, still responsible despite their powerlessness for the horrible crimes of murder, rape and arson, committed in the Republic's name. The real charge against the Republic is that it never governed. Its only excuse maybe, that it never had the change to govern ; but the excuse wears thin, when one recalls that its leaders were themselves in the main responsible for the ungovernable situation.

Of the Franco regime Dr. Pattee naturally has much to tell. His attitude is one of sympathy, based not alone on the defeat of Communism and the resurrection of the Spanish traditional way of thought and life but also on his clear understanding of the immense problems with which General Franco has had to deal, in the face of hostility and economic and political pressure from other countries. He pays a just tribute to the great work of material reconstruction inside Spain. " The full

story of reconstruction in Spain, from the material point of view, is fabulous ; whole cities that were literally wiped out have been rebuilt in their entirety : Teruel, Brunete, the many small towns of the areas around Madrid and in Aragon." He points out that it is foolish to speak of the Franco government as ' reactionary ' ; on the contrary, it has been ' radical ', with a programme of extensive social services, though here he notes the usual discrepancy between legislation and effect in Spain. His verdict is that legislation had far outrun performance, and that the social legislation is too elaborate for the economic possibilities of the country. Yet, despite the lag between plan and practice and the fear that the projects may be too ambitious, the Spanish worker has more security offered him to-day than under the Republic. The one pervading difficulty is the absence of capital for investment and the general low standard of wages.

Enough has, I hope, been said to show that this is at once a readable and yet earnest work, a book both for the general reader and also for the man who seeks specialist information. Its atmosphere is calm and understanding and, while the author claims no cold detachment from the matters he discusses, he nonetheless discusses them in a most reasonable and objective way. The production is quite admirable. My one regret is that the price of the book, at least for a European public, is very high. Perhaps the publishers might consider an English edition at a much lower price.

JOHN MURRAY

PHILOSOPHY

METHOD IN METAPHYSICS, by Robert Henle, S.J. The Aquinas Lecture, 1950. Marquette University Press, Milwaukee, 1951. 73 pages. $2.

THIS lecture, like its predecessors in the series of Marquette Aquinas Lectures, is of interest to the professional philosopher as a manifestation of a live philosophical movement, that associated with Gilson in America since the war, what Fr. Henle calls " Thomistic existential metaphysics." For the non-professional it helps to answer a question of his about philosophy which is a rather important and fundamental one, namely, What is philosophy ?

The author supposes that we have already excluded, by establishing " realism," the view that philosophy is out of contact with reality. His aim is rather to eliminate misconceptions of philosophy's contact with reality and to show its true nature. This " experiential moment " he finds in " the experience from which arise the concrete existential judgments which we all make," as when we discover that the whole is greater than any of its parts. The way in which those judgments arise and develop out of our experience is admirably illustrated and " pointed up." The " gaze is concentrated and held steady until we penetrate the nature of knowing." It is " induction through insight." The resulting science is consequently " the expression of immediately observed facts."

One misconception of philosophy which the author decries is that an initial contact with reality is sufficient for the philosopher. Another is the view that unconscious contact, by " natural abstraction " only, suffices. Both of these views ignore what anyone may see for himself in those existential judgments mentioned above, a certain patient waiting for reality to show itself more fully, like a naturalist or a photographer watching birds, a certain gradual learning from reality as in an object lesson, comparing constantly our thought and expression with reality, like a tailor " fitting on " or a portrait painter returning from portrait to subject. A great part of our knowledge, no doubt, is due to the activity of our minds, but in intimate dependence all the time on reality.

The method here proposed and defended differs considerably from the method sed in many works on philosophy, where the interest is in elaborating concepts ther than in understanding things. A philosophy book which followed this method ould have a claim on the interest of the ordinary man, who, whether he admits or not, wants to understand himself and the world he lives in, continuing in odified form the pursuit of his childhood expressed in the questions : " Mammy, hat's that? Why? How does it do that? "

The sane and sound view of philosophy sketched in this little book seems to be uch needed.

JOHN HYDE

HEOLOGIA NATURALIS IN USUM SCHOLARUM. Auctore Gerard Esser S.V.D. Techny (Illinois). Typis Domus Missionum ad St. Mariam.

ATHER Esser, of the Society of the Divine Word, has already published several xt-books : Metaphysica Generalis, Psychologia, Cosmologia. The present volume aintains the high standard of well-compiled, well-arranged and well-produced ooks for class-use set by the previous volumes. It contains the theses which are sually taught : five main ways for proving the existence of God, with a discussion other ways ; the attributes of God ; providence ; the presence of God—and so on ; nd there is a discussion of method and exclusion of faulty method. The author eeps abreast of the latest writings on his subject, as appears both in his ample ndex Librorum at the beginning of the book and in his numerous references through- ut its pages to books and articles (including Fr. Arthur Little's : Actio in Distans). till more does this appear in his attempt, in the course of the work, to judge and use odern thought concerning natural theology and so to adapt the traditional teaching the world his students will face.

One may ask : Why a new text-book of natural theology, when there are so many : emer, Rast, Descoqs, Hontheim, Garrigou-Lagrange, Joyce, Brosnan, Arnou, nd so on ? In philosophy, more perhaps than in other subjects, the teacher has to ake his doctrine his own if he is to teach it well ; so that he tends to form his own xt-book, compiled from his reading, adapted to his personal method and to the eeds of his class. It is convenient if he can print his text-book ; and so there flows ut a series of such works, each contributing (like the present volume) some points hich are noted and appraised by other teachers, with consequent evolution and nprovement (we hope) in the teaching of natural theology.

In doctrine a teacher of philosophy either follows an author or judges each oint for himself making his own synthesis, though usually the two methods are ixed—in varying proportions. Fr. Esser follows mainly the second method. While e selection of five ways to prove the existence of God and the wording and arrange- ent of many theses show that he follows St. Thomas Aquinas as Author, he does not sitate to teach the opposite of St. Thomas's doctrine in places. as in the thesis the presence of God (presence before action), or to interpret in a different way the rmulas of St. Thomas. Thus there is Simultaneous Concursus, and the " meta- ysical essence " of God is *ens a se.* (In his *Metaphysica Generalis* the uthor teaches that the real distinction between essence and existence in creatures is ld by St. Thomas, but is an unproved hypothesis). His favourite leader in practice Urraburu. So much for the points which a prospective user of the text-book would quire about.

The general reader is not interested in a text-book of Philosophy, especially it is written in Latin and in a concise style suited rather for exposition in class than private reading ; but he *is* interested in the method of teaching philosophy.

Because Philosophy is so necessary at the present time, one is anxious that it be taught well. Two methods are in use. One method is to impart Philosophy as a body of doctrine, a set of answers without questions or with only dead questions, but answers carefully formulated, producing in the reader or student mild boredom at the time, but causing at a later time (on suitable provocation) faithful reproduction in lectures, sermons or books, in miniature form and much diminished intelligibility. The other method is to treat Philosophy as a collection of questions without answers, living questions, thought-provoking, the absence of answer in such circumstances causing scepticism, bitterness, agnosticism and superior disbelief, closing the mind to truth. By neither of these methods is Philosophy given fair play. Aristotle, " The Philosopher ", said that Philosophy was a pedagogical stimulation of the mind's natural curiosity to know the ultimate meaning of all things, stimulation being effected by the posing of Problems, which are apparent contradictions between observed truths, harassing the mind until it finds a solution showing that both truths, while remaining true, harmonize in Truth. Some say that Aristotle cared more for the problem than for the solution ; this opinion however seems to be against both his theory and his practice. Fr. Esser in the present book, like most Scholastic text-books, follows the former of those two methods. Perhaps it cannot be helped in a text-book. Perhaps it is even less avoidable when seminarians have to be taught so much in a short time. Perhaps in class Fr. Esser uses his text-book only as a convenient summary and complement to aid his students in the inevitable drudgery connected with all serious learning, spending much of his class-time stimulating his class by the problem method to think for themselves and really philosophize. To write a text-book which would provide the stimulus of problems and also solid answers as well, combining both of the methods above, may be quite impossible, and Fr. Esser's method may be the best in practice : " Finis praecipuus in hoc libro disputandus ille est, ut argumenta, quibus in tota traditione religiosa generis humani existentia Dei demonstrata est, accurate et lucide exponantur suaque evidentia manifesta reddatur ".

JOHN HYDE

EDUCATION AND MORALS

THE YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, 1951. Published in association with the University of London Institute of Education by Evans Brothers, Ltd., London. Pp. xii+674. 63s.

As in former years, the Editors of the Year Book have again chosen a central theme for discussion by their contributors. This year the theme is Education and Morals : what part the school takes or should take in fostering in the child notions of right and wrong, of responsibility, of right conduct. The Editors claim that in the various points of view here expounded there is a great deal in common, and this they regard as a hopeful sign for the future. Undoubtedly, many of the writers use the same phrases and express what seem to be the same ideas. But the thing is not quite so simple as that.

It all depends on what you mean by " morality." And here it may be of interest to indicate some of the very different opinions on what morality is as they are put forward in the early part of this book. One contributor gives the traditional Christian interpretation and would define it as the Natural Law implanted by God in his creature, on which Revelation superimposes the supernatural Law (pp. 116 seqq.). Another speaks of the moral function as " the highest development of biological evolution and not as a derivative of anything lying outside the animal kingdom in its widest aspect " (p. 72). The Communist quotes Engels : " Every moral

code yet known has been the product in its fundamentals of the economic state of society at the corresponding period " (p. 88). Still another dismisses supernatural revelation or any system of universally recognised objective values as a unifying principle of education, and introduces in their place something which he calls a scientific study of history (p. 104). Finally there are those who, starting from differing theories conclude that morality means " an integrated attitude towards the society in which (men) live " (p. 43), or one's conformity to the rules and traditions of society (p. 54).

Now it might fairly be asked how such utterly diverse opinions could meet on any common ground. It might seem, for example, that all moralists would agree that a man should tell the truth. But there is more to a precept than what it prescribes. There is the purpose of the precept, for instance, the reason why it is a precept. If a man should tell the truth because it is for the good of the society in which he lives, it would appear that he should tell a lie if it were to make for the same good, as Plato holds when he speaks of the " noble falsehood ", necessary for the common good. In this connection it is highly instructive to try to follow the Communist Ziherl, Minister for Science and Culture in Slovenia, as he juggles with the concepts " truth " and " falsehood." The old order which is being overthrown is " out-of-date and becoming more and more false," while the new things " are becoming ever stronger in their self-evident truth " (p. 91). To " tell the truth " about the revolutionary movement to its enemies is to betray it : " In the moral value given by a man from the people [sic] at such an occasion a sharp distinction is stressed between ' he did not tell the truth ' as a synonym for ' he did not betray ' and ' he lied ' as something immoral and cowardly " (p. 98). Hence, obviously, " a communist must consequently consider as moral those actions which contribute to the victory of the proletariat " (p. 95). It should be said that the translation of this article (if it is a translation) seems to be badly done. Communist writers are not particularly noted for lucidity of style or lightness of touch, it is true, but I find it hard to believe that any man could have written in such a confused, ungrammatical and, at times, quite unintelligible style as that of this article. The same fault, though in less degree, is to be noted in the translation of the French article on " Christianity and Secularism."

The greater part of the book is taken up with accounts from virtually every organised state in the world (with the very notable exception of the South American countries) describing how the problem of moral training in the school is approached. These articles are extremely interesting and the Editors are to be congratulated on bringing together in convenient form such a mass of information. There are twenty-four such articles and it would be obviously impossible to discuss all or even many of them. A few comments must suffice.

Ireland is represented by a very brief treatment of the constitutional position of the schools and of religion written by the President of University College, Cork. We must regret the brevity of this article. In view of the controversies which exist in England and the U.S.A. concerning the legality of giving state aid to denominational education, and of the bitter opposition which any, even the smallest, step in this direction has caused, one would have liked a fuller account, an account more easily intelligible to the outsider. Many readers of this Year Book will be ignorant of the causes which have produced the peculiar position that in a predominantly Catholic country the elementary school is undenominational, the Catholic Church as such has no constitutional position in education and that, notwithstanding, religion and moral training in the elementary school is in a satisfactory state.

The article on " Undenominational Christianity and Moral Training in the English School System " is both an account and a defence of the ' Agreed Syllabuses '

consequent on the 1944 Act. There is one remarkable omission in the account. The author speaks throughout of ' the Churches ' but nowhere is it stated that the Roman Catholic Church authorities have refused to accept the syllabuses, and that, in consequence, Catholic schools are severely handicapped financially. More, they are in imminent danger, if there cannot quickly be found a crippling sum of money to conform to the building standards set up by the Ministry, of being taken over completely and of having the agreed syllabuses imposed on them as the official programme of religious instruction (p. 266). The author attempts to answer the question whether the type of ' Christianity ' in these syllabuses, unsectarian as it is supposed to be, can be considered real Christianity. He does not succeed. The unsurmountable difficulty is : how can you teach religion that is not *a* religion ? The ' core ' of the syllabus contains " some knowledge of the Church " and of " the growth of the Church in the world from the first century to the twentieth " (p. 288). But—which Church ? How can all this be possibly taught without being ' sectarian ' ? " There is a process of fermentation going on " says the author (p. 293) " and the outcome of it will be, let us hope, not mere froth but more bread." But can you have undenominational bread ? It is a pity that Father D'Arcy in his statement of the Catholic Tradition of morality did not devote some of his space to an exposition of the Catholic stand for the schools in the present conditions of his country. It has, of course, often been proclaimed in English Catholic weeklies but this Year Book with its wide reading public was an admirable opportunity to put the Catholic case clearly before many whose ordinary reading is not the Catholic Press.

A study of the articles in this book leads the reader to two conclusions. When the essential bond between religion and morality has been rejected other motives have proved insufficient. In France teachers are told to appeal to a variety of purely natural motives in inculcating lay morality, but, as the Editors say with a fine meiosis, " such courses [of instruction] have not produced all the results desired." In the U.S.A. the public elementary schools have for their prophet John Dewey with his ' education for society ' and with the corresponding motives for morality. The result, according to all accounts, is not a conspicuously well-integrated attitude to society. The second conclusion is that in most of the countries described in this book the influence of institutional religion on the young is steadily diminishing. It is then difficult to avoid a further conclusion, based on these two, that a general breakdown in morality would seem to be, humanly speaking, inevitable. The Editors, laudably enough, adopt a hopeful attitude towards the future. They base their hope on what is probably true, that there is a larger tolerance, a greater desire on opposing sides to understand one another. But tolerance can go only so far ; understanding cannot mean betrayal of one's convictions. Hence it seems a little naive on the part of the Editors when, to point this increasing attitude of conciliation they write : " Even the open hostility of Marxians to any religion has given place to a peaceful co-existence of the Communist Party and the Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union " (p. 14). The conqueror, no doubt, co-exists peaceably with his enemy when the latter has made an unconditional surrender.

SEÁN Ó CATHÁIN

OLD TESTAMENT PROBLEMS

UNLESS SOME MAN SHOW ME. By Alexander Jones, S.T.L., L.S.S. London : Sheed and Ward, Ltd. 1951. Pp. 162. 8s. 6d.

FR. JONES describes as follows his purpose in publishing this interesting book : " To state and to stress certain particularly useful principles of interpretation within the traditional Catholic doctrine of Inspiration and Inerrancy and to apply these

principles to one or two knotty questions of the Old Testament." The first four chapters are concerned with the statement of principles ; a definition of Inspiration, an attempt to describe the way in which God and the human author of a book of the bible co-operate in the production of an inspired book and finally the proposition that the purpose of the interpretation of the scripture is to discover what the inspired author means to say. This last point is taken for granted when we are dealing with ordinary human documents but we somehow seem to hesitate to apply it in its fullness to the interpretation of the biblical texts, possibly as a result of an exaggerated reverence for the " Word of God," possibly by way of reaction to the extravagance of some rationalist biblical critics.

Fr. Jones discusses the variety of literary forms used by the different authors of the books of the Old Testament. The importance of this discussion can be seen from the principle that each literary form has its own type of truth ; " not truth more or less diluted with falsehood but truth presented more or less directly." For instance, some Catholics will maintain that the book of Jonas is a historical book relating a series of events which took place at a certain point of time and space : others that it is a kind of parable illustrating a certain element of God's dealings with men. Of these two groups of scholars Fr. Jones remarks, " Both agree upon the high moral lesson it (*i.e.* the Book of Jonas) affords us and afforded its first readers ; both agree . . . . . that the book is inspired and therefore without error ; they differ only on the nature of the vehicle chosen by the author to convey his moral lesson. Does he narrate a *history* with a moral or does he compose a *story* with a moral ? "

In the remaining chapters Fr. Jones applies his principles not merely as he promised to one or two knotty problems but also to the Canticle of Canticles, ch. 5 ; the Book of Jonas, chs. 6 and 7; the opening chapters of the Book of Genesis, chs. 8 to 12; and a number of minor points, Chs. 13 to 17.

The significance of this book does not derive from the intrinsic importance of its content. Fr. Jones here makes no display of erudition or originality. He merely gives us samples of the ordinary stock in trade of the modern Catholic biblical exegete ; but his book is one of the rare attempts in English to exhibit this stock in trade to the ordinary Catholic and doubtless many ordinary Catholics will be surprised and gratified at what they find here.

Fr. Jones admits that the style in which his book is composed is a " shade unconventional " and foresees that some of his readers may find it " facetious and flippant." He will not therefore be offended if the reviewer confesses himself to be one such reader. This point is raised merely to warn those into whose hands this book may come not to lay it aside because they dislike the style in which it is written.

PATRICK SIMPSON

THE FLORA OF COUNTY WICKLOW

FLORA OF COUNTY WICKLOW. By J. P. Brunker. Dundalk : Dundalgen Press. 1951. 25s.

THE knowledge of the content and over-all distribution of the Irish (vascular) Flora while not complete is relatively satisfactory. This is due to the persevering efforts of devoted field workers, particularly in the past sixty years or so. Among these workers the name of Praegar will always be pre-eminent : it is mainly due to his masterly editing of the results of these labours in *The Botanist in Ireland* that the position with regard to the flora as whole is comparatively good.

Detailed working of local floras has not kept pace with this development. Hitherto, apart from such regional works as Stewart and Corry on North-East

Ireland and Praeger on Connemara one could count the strictly local *Floras* on the fingers of one hand. Of these Colgan's *Flora of County Dublin* (1906) is being brought up-to-date by members of the Dublin Naturalists' Field Club, but most of the others (e.g. Hart on *Howth* (1887), *Donegal* (1898), and Aran) must badly need revision in the light of subsequent findings or of changes due to intense building as at Howth. The only remaining Flora of note—Scully's study of County Kerry (1916)—probably needs revision less than any and could most easily be brought up to date because of the constant attention given by native and visiting botanists alike to that most favoured county. Such is the position more than a century-and-a-half after the publication of the first local list in Irish botanical literature, Wade's List of the indigenous plants of County Dublin (*Catalogus Systematicus Plantarum Indigenarum in Comitatu Dublinense inventarum.*

This inadequate review of the position before the publication of *Flora of County Wicklow* will help to give some idea of the importance of the occasion and of our debt to the author. To anyone familiar with Irish field botany the name Brunker is an adequate guarantee of painstaking accuracy; routine checking in the current season has, as anticipated, merely served to underline its reliability.

Mr. Brunker's book has a fifty-page introduction which though focussed on Wicklow is in many respects of general interest and is always thoroughly readable. The body of the work is in the traditional style of county Flora. The County Wicklow is divided into numbered districts (8). After each species the number in series or a corresponding dash indicates the presence or absence of the species from that district. The usefulness of the work is greatly enhanced by the provision of a map and an excellent topographical index. The author modestly wishes that the work of field botanists in Wicklow will soon render his book out of date. One can safely predict that for many years the most efficient way of completing the work so admirably begun and brought to near completeness by Mr. Brunker will be by reprinting the present work with the necessary additions.

The whole position of Irish field botany is direly in need of review. The ecological treatment of the flora has barely been touched upon, but that remains for the most part the task of academic botanists. Meanwhile the work of filling in the details locally can most profitably be undertaken by keen non-professionals. Surely among our teachers, horticultural and agricultural instructors—to mention only some of the more likely avocations—there must be many to whom such field work would provide a stimulating pastime, the pace of which they themselves would be free to set? So one hopes that this book will find its way into every library in Wicklow and the neighbouring counties, and into at least the principal libraries of the remaining counties, if only to show potential workers what can be achieved by the non-professional in spare time. I should like to point out that it can be procured only from the author or the publishers. MARTIN BRENNAN

OBSTETRICS AND ETHICS

TEXT-BOOK OF OBSTETRICS. By Professor John F. Cunningham, M.D., M.A.O., F.R.C.P.I., F.R.C.O.G. London: William Heinemann, Ltd. 1951. Pp. 499. 40s.

FOR over two hundred years Dublin has been known throughout the world as a centre of good conservative obstetrics. It is, therefore, with respect that we welcome the latest book to be published from this city. Its author, Professor John F. Cunningham, was for over ten years Master of the National Maternity Hospital. To those who know the Dublin Maternity Hospitals and their mastership system it is clear that what he has to say will have the backing of an experience which is unrivalled. Dealing with three to four thousand cases a year the National Maternity

Hospital supplies " the mass " of an enormous number of normal confinements with " the leaven " of obstetrical emergencies of all varieties even the most bizarre kind. With this ideal clinical material for teaching purposes Doctor Cunningham made a reputation for himself as an excellent lecturer. As Professor of Obstetrics and Gynaecology in University College, Dublin, which possesses the largest medical school in Ireland, it was desirable that the excellence of his spoken word should find a more permanent record ; hence this volume.

The book follows the usual pattern of medical texts. Firstly there are chapters on the anatomy, physiology, diagnosis and management of normal pregnancy and labour. These are followed by sections on the pathology of pregnancy and operative obstetrics. Finally there is a short section on the new-born infant and the commoner pathological conditions of the new-born.

Each chapter is as far as possible a complete thesis in the particular subject under discussion. This approach entails a certain amount of repetition—while limiting the number of cross references—a desirable feature in a student's text book.

Throughout, the text is well ordered, concise and readable and profusely illustrated—297 illustrations in 487 pages. The illustrations are of particular interest in so far as many of them are original and have been carefully selected to demonstrate some particular entity or manœuvre. A few are not of the general high standard having occasional errors of proportion that even the very clear legends cannot adjust ! We hope this small point will be remedied in a subsequent edition. The reproduction of the X-ray plates is very satisfactory on the semi-art paper. The judious use of contrasting print for headings and sub-headings helps to bring out clearly on each page the logical sequence of thought. The index is adequate and reliable.

The store of information contained in this small manual is remarkable. The Academic side of each subject is well dealt with but its real strength lies in the amount of practical clinical direction it contains. Here are the answers to the problems with which the student and general practitioner is liable to be faced. A definite line of treatment, based on a vast experience, is laid down. In cases where a dogmatic ruling cannot be given the alternatives are discussed with all the fairness of a mature judgment.

The section on contracted pelvis is outstanding. In these countries where the grosser forms of this deformity are becoming rarer, the more difficult and dangerous cases of moderate disproportion are of the greatest interest. However, the treatment of this condition by Symphysiotomy which is of particular interest in a Catholic community has not been stressed. This operation by which the pelvis is permanently enlarged has been employed more widely recently. Many of the objections levelled against this operation previously have been removed by advances in the field of general surgery. With symphysiotomy the patient with a contracted pelvis may look forward to further uncomplicated deliveries *per vias naturales*. Caesarean Section on such cases means repetition of the operation on each occasion. Where contraception or sterilization does not limit the number of pregnancies this frequently leads to marital difficulties. However, as the matter is still *sub judice* it is probably too controversial for a student's text book.

An unique feature that must have special appeal to all those interested in the medical education of Catholics is the fact that the Church's ethical standards are those on which treatment is based. " The easy way out " of therapeutic abortion is not countenanced and Professor Cunningham points out in relation to the condition of hyperemesis the interesting fact that " the study of hospital reports show clearly, that in these institutions where abortion is *not* practised deaths from true hyperemesis have virtually disappeared ; whereas in institutions where abortion is done, the disease still causes a considerable mortality." Again, it is the one text-book with which we are familiar in which the treatment of the hydrocephalic head

is not given as perforation. To quote : " no obstetrician worthy of the name would perform such an operation on a living foetus. In cases of obstructed delivery from any cause it is always possible to effect the safe delivery of the foetus by some operative method without undue risk to the mother," in the case in point by tapping the head with a spinal needle.

From every aspect this is a most satisfactory and satisfying book and it should become a standard text for students and post graduates. Professor Cunningham is to be heartily congratulated on succeeding so admirably in his task and for adding still further to the good reputation of Dublin Obstetrics. CHARLES F. V. COYLE

SHAKESPEAREAN IMAGERY

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SHAKESPEARE'S IMAGERY. By W. H. Clemen. London : Methuen. 1951. 15s.

BOOKS on Shakespearean imagery tend to be dangerous, in that they are usually either personal effusions on favourite passages or else soulless lists of co-related metaphors. Professor Clemen's work is free from any such defects. He approaches Shakespearean drama with all the ardour of a lover, analyses its imagery with the cool appraisal of a careful statistician, and leaves us his readers with a deeper appreciation of those perfections which we had known already and loved, but had not so fully understood. In this book there is no forcing of facts into the moulds of pre-conceived " explanations." It is a simple, laborious study of the plays in their order of writing, which unfolds gradually a pattern of development in imagery. So naturally does the pattern spring from the evidence presented that it appears almost organic in growth, and suggests the development of a human mind and character, the mind and character of Shakespeare.

To summarize the matter of so closely-knit a work would be impossible. There is room here however to give some few of the interesting points that emerge from Professor Clemen's studies. He notes the extraordinarily wide rôle played by rhetoric throughout all the Shakespearean plays. We have long been familiar with the exuberance of the earlier comedies and the historical plays, but the deliberate and conscious use of rhetoric in even the great tragedies brings home to us how masterfully Shakespeare's art could cloak itself under the guise of naturalness.

Of the later comedies Dr. Clemen propounds the very acceptable thesis that the characters are more concerned with their theories of love rather than with any feelings the divine passion may inspire.

Dr. Clemen finds in many of the earlier works much evidence of amplification (what we now term " padding "). Shakespeare's early difficulty appears to have been the filling out of his plot to occupy the conventional five acts. Hence there is considerable over-elaboration of imagery, with sometimes a second illustration introduced to clarify an already pellucid idea. We are warned not to judge this as a defect in Shakespeare. It is merely the early stage in the conflict between the poet and the dramatist.

The final chapters deal with the very difficult " last plays." Here Dr. Clemen keeps rigidly to his own sphere. Having noted that in *The Tempest* the catastrophe occurs at the beginning of the play, he shows how the imagery is necessarily reminiscent rather than anticipatory as in the tragedies. It is also a powerful factor in creating the magic atmosphere of the island, by appealing to all of our senses, even those of touch and smell, so that our final remembrance of the play is not Prospero, nor Caliban, nor the storms and loves and treacheries, but the vision of a dream-world more wonderful than any we know.

The Book List and Index appended to the work are excellent and at 15s. this book should find a place in the library of every Shakespearean lover. I. T. QUIN

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